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IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM





EDMUND DE VALERA
First President of the Irish Republic as declared by Sinn Fein

IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

*Setting Forth the High Lights
of Irish History*

BY
GEORGE CREEL

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"WILSON AND THE ISSUES" ETC.

ILLUSTRATED



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IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

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G-T

To My Wife

BLANCHE BATES CREEL

Who has long begged me to give
up controversy in favor of
“nice, unargumentative things like books,”
this volume is lovingly dedicated.

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FOREWORD

THE world is asked to consider Ireland merely as "England's domestic problem." Certain circumstances, unyielding as iron, preclude the acceptance of any such view. Not even by the utmost stretch of amiable intent can a question that strikes at the very heart of international agreement be set down and written off as "domestic." That magic formula, "self-determination," has marched armies and tumbled empires these last few years, playing too large a part in world-consciousness to be limited by any arbitrary discrimination in the hour of victory and adjustment. Even as Poles, Czechs, Jugoslavs, Ukrainians, Finns, and scores of other submerged nationalities are struggling to the upper air of independence, so does Ireland appeal to the solemn covenant of the Allies with its championship of the "rights of small peoples" and its sonorous assent to "the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed."

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As never before the Irish are united. With the exception of protesting majorities in four Ulster counties, Ireland voted as a unit in 1918 for a republican form of government. The seventy-three representatives elected by the Sinn Fein refused to take their seats at Westminster and have assembled as an Irish Parliament, sitting in Dublin. The thousands of British soldiers in Ireland virtually constitute an army of occupation. In America the race has put aside the factional bitterness of the past and stands solidly and squarely in support of Ireland's demand for justice.

It is this that gives the Irish question an American aspect. In the United States there are over 15,000,000 people of Irish birth or descent, woven into the warp and woof of our national life by common aspirations and devotions. They stand implacably to-day between this country and England, crying out against any alliance, agreement, or even amity until the case of Ireland has been fairly considered and justly settled.

Such a mass, instinct with intelligent emotionalism, cannot be ignored either in honor, decency, or plain common sense. This is a democracy in which the treaty-making pow-

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ers of government are under the ultimate control of the electorate. Make no doubt that the Irish vote will be a *block vote* against England and all things English as long as the Irish question is allowed to persist. It must be remembered, also, that for forty years the cause of Ireland has been pleaded unceasingly in the United States by a host of brilliant and persuasive personalities, with the result that a great body of liberal sentiment is firm in the belief that Irish wrongs are real and call for redress. Nor may it be forgotten that the history of the United States, written in a spirit of bumptious nationalism, has not been calculated to make for Anglo-American understanding. The comradeship of a great adventure in humanity merely anesthetized this feeling, and any definite anti-English campaign will stir it to ugly life.

These forces, assembled and assemblable, given unchanged conditions and faced by anything less than concerted opposition, will have power to direct and shape the foreign policies of the United States. What, then, is to be the attitude of those Americans who are not of Irish blood and who have no concern with the Irish question save as it bears

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upon the destinies of the United States? It is idle to adopt a tone of heavy reproof and talk of "America first." America has always been first with the Irish-American. Men of Ireland gave heart and strength to Washington, they died by thousands that the Union might endure, and of the army raised to crush German absolutism fully 15 per cent. were of Irish birth or descent. It is with this record of love and sacrifice behind them that the Irish in the United States call upon America to lend hope to their unhappy motherland. It is a call that America must answer. A decision cannot be evaded.

If the contentions of Ireland are without justice, the Irish in the United States must not longer be permitted to stand in the way of those international amities that constitute the keystone in the arch of world peace. If it stands proved that Ireland suffers unbearable oppressions, and is to-day outside the justice for which millions have died, it is the plain duty of England to remedy a condition that blocks the free and friendly partnership of nations.

It is to furnish the facts upon which an honest and intelligent answer may be based that this little volume has been written.

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Chapter I

The Story of "Home Rule"

✓ FROM 1870 to 1916 Home Rule meant Ireland and Ireland meant Home Rule. The movement and the nation were one and rang through the world in a single great appeal. For the first time in seven centuries the Irish put armed force aside and submitted their demand for independence to the arbitral justice of an English Parliament. The Irish Republican Brotherhood was a memory, the Fenian leaders lived as exiles, Sinn Fein was not even an anticipation, and a crushed and dispirited people indorsed the decision to substitute constitutional methods for the sword. *1st Par*

From 1195 to 1867 virtually every Irish generation had hurled its naked breasts against the might of England, only to sink

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down to defeat and new despair under sheer weight of numbers. The Home Rule movement marked the ascendancy of the moderates, hopeless as to rebellion, but hopeful, indeed, that the peaceful presentation of Ireland's case would win redress of ancient wrongs. Its rise and fall stands as a distinct chapter in Irish history, illuminative in itself, but equally valuable for its lantern rays into the past and the searchlight that it throws on the present and future.

Isaac Butt may be written down as the father of Home Rule. An Ulster man, the son of a Presbyterian minister, his sense of fair play made him place his brilliant legal talents at the service of these unhappy scores who were dragnetted after the Fenian uprising of '67. The infamy of the trials, the packed juries, the bitter prejudice of the judges, all combined to change the intense conservatism of his youth, and he soon took rank as a leader in the fight for Irish freedom. The futile rebellions of the past, however, no less than his legalistic bent, led Butt sharply away from force and he evolved the doctrine of evidence and argument.

The Fenians, distrustful always, but driven by their helplessness, as well as their love

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and faith in Butt, gave him authority in the name of Ireland, and in 1870 he rose in the Parliament at Westminster and launched his campaign of appeal to the justice of England. He lived to see his optimism mocked and his hope destroyed. A gentle soul and gentlemanly, his greatest victory was that the English members came to listen to him in time, although amusedly always. He lived also to see the coming of one who was not gentle, whose words were sledge-hammers, whose tactics turned amused indifference into furious attention.

Charles Stewart Parnell found Parliament a legislative body and he made it a bedlam. A man of ice and iron, hating England with a cold, deadly hatred, a genius in leadership, a master of obstruction, his repeated filibusters soon proved conclusively that until the Irish question was considered England's legislative body need not hope to consider any other question intelligently or consecutively.

Obstructing boldly in Westminster, he constructed no less boldly in Ireland. Not Grattan nor O'Connell was more the idol of the Irish than this icy, aloof Protestant who made no other appeal than love for his

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land, hatred of the oppressor, and fierce determination that Ireland should stand free of her chains.

He put himself whole-heartedly behind Davitt's Land League until all Ireland seethed with revolt; it was Parnell's fertile mind that saw the possibilities of the boycott; from north to south he preached unity, resistance, and courage; arrest and imprisonment could not check him, for from Kilmainham jail he dictated terms to his captors.

Soon the amazing spectacle was witnessed of both parties, Liberal and Conservative, bidding for the support of Parnell and his once despised following. Gladstone was his choice, but that great leader was not yet ready for complete acceptance, and Parnell used his balance of power to unseat the Liberals. The Tories, under Salisbury and Churchill, were more than placatory, passing many helpful Irish laws, but while they debated as to complete surrender, Gladstone acted, pledging himself and his party to Home Rule. Out went the Tories at Parnell's behest, and in 1886 Gladstone introduced the first Home Rule bill.

There is interest in the speculation that

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the whole course of history might have been changed had Parnell made his alliance with Salisbury and Churchill. In the ranks of the Tories were all those most bitterly opposed to Irish freedom and a bargain with them would have destroyed the very citadel of prejudice. As it was, the Tories straightway adopted antagonism to Home Rule as a fundamental tenet and the Ulster vote grew as a source of Tory strength until it ruled the Unionist party in 1914.

It was asserted at the time that the debate marked the very height of Gladstone's courage and eloquence. For three hours and twenty-five minutes he mercilessly portrayed the shames and failures of English rule in Ireland, ending with this impassioned peroration: "Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single voice, a single book, in which the conduct of England toward Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? No. They are, in fact, the sad exception to the glory of England. They are a broad and black spot upon the pages of its history. What we want to do is to stand

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by the traditions of which we are the heirs in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our relations with Ireland to conform to the other traditions of our country. So we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She asks also a boon for the future, and that boon for the future, unless we are much mistaken, will be a boon to us in respect of honor, no less than a boon to her in respect of happiness, prosperity, and peace."

The bill was defeated, owing to the desertion of Joseph Chamberlain, Gladstone's trusted lieutenant, whose shrewd political sense saw even then that Imperialism would carry him faster and farther than any mere hobby-horse of justice. Gladstone, eager to test public opinion, went to the country at once, but lost the election by a narrow margin, and the triumphant Tories lost little time in bitter reprisal. A Coercion bill scourged Ireland with wholesale arrests, and even as Parnell rallied his forces to the fight, letters were printed that seemed to connect him directly with the atrocious Phoenix Park murders. Forgery was proved quickly and the wretched Pigott committed suicide, but there was that coming that struck the strong

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man down. A Captain O'Shea filed suit for divorce, naming Parnell as corespondent, and the hue and cry of outraged moralists drove him from public life, a broken man quite soon to die.

The scandal killed Home Rule as with a dagger-thrust, for, while Parnell's private life had no bearing whatever upon the right or wrong of the Irish question, all history points out that society prefers to let injustice flourish and millions die rather than that an infraction of the moral code as publicly exposed by a public leader be permitted to go unpunished. It was not until 1892 that Gladstone dared to introduce a second Home Rule bill. It swept through the House of Commons this time, but was promptly vetoed by the House of Lords, Salisbury blandly dismissing the Irish as "Hottentots." Old, worn, and bitterly disgusted, Gladstone retired to private life, but in a last prophetic speech he warned England that neither Home Rule nor any other bill embodying social justice could ever be passed until the veto power of the House of Lords had been destroyed. Home Rule straightway identified itself with the whole English fight for progress, and in 1911 the battle of years was won by the adoption of

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the Parliament Act which provided that any bill passed by the House of Commons in three successive annual sessions should, on the third occasion, receive the royal assent and become a law.

This meant that the plain people of England approved self-government for the Irish, for throughout this campaign Mr. Asquith stated unequivocally that the Liberal party was pledged absolutely to the Irish cause and that one of the first uses of the Parliament Act would be to drive through a Home Rule bill. This pledge was redeemed on April 11, 1912, and Home Rule passed its first reading by an overwhelming majority. In order that there might be no doubt as to Irish sentiment, a national convention was called in Dublin, the largest and most representative assemblage ever brought together on Irish soil. Participated in by Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, clergy and laity, this gathering endorsed the action of Redmond, Dillon, Devlin, and O'Connor and approved the Home Rule bill without a single dissenting vote.

The measure swept through the House of Commons in all its stages and, as a matter of course, was vetoed by the House of Lords. In no respect was it an alarming measure, for

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it did not even approximate the powers and scope of the Canadian form of government. It created an Irish Parliament, yes, but the Senate was to be nominated by the government, and the crown reserved all questions connected with the army, the navy, foreign relations, coinage, and the collection of taxes; no power over trade was granted, nor over the post-office, nor over the constabulary, and the Lord-Lieutenant was vested with power to reverse or annul all legislation enacted by the Irish Parliament.

Little enough, in all truth, yet even this flavor of freedom was an offense to the Tories. Again, in 1913 the bill was introduced and passed, and again the House of Lords exercised its veto powers. Admittedly unable to check this legislative process by peaceful means, the Tories of England had already turned to the violence of rebellion. At every step in the proceedings, from 1911 on, the House of Commons voted under the menace of threats that did not stop short of treason. Claiming that Ulster, the northern province of Ireland, was solidly Protestant and a unit in devotion to the British Empire, the Tories insisted that Home Rule would subject this loyal minority to the rule of a "bigoted,

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shiftless Roman Catholic majority," and boldly preached resistance in terms of blood and battle.

Some Ulster Irish, but English Tories for the most part, launched a veritable crusade of sedition. Sir Edward Carson, Sir Frederick Smith, Mr. Balfour, Bonar Law, Walter Long, Sir James Craig, James Campbell, Lord Curzon, and Lord Robert Cecil declared openly and repeatedly that Home Rule would be resisted by force; arms were brought into Ulster from Germany, and there were those bold enough to assert that, if the blow fell, "German aid would be sought and welcomed." Here, for instance, are specific quotations:

In the event of this purposed Parliament being thrust upon us, we solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves not to recognize its authority. . . . I do not care twopence whether it is treason or not.—SIR EDWARD CARSON.

If Home Rule were persisted in it would lead to civil war, and if he lived in Belfast he would seriously consider whether rebellion were not better than Home Rule.—LORD ROBERT CECIL.

If they were put out of the Union . . . he would infinitely prefer to change his allegiance right over to the Emperor of Germany or any one else who had got a proper and stable government.—MAJOR CRAWFORD.

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It is a fact which I do not think any one who knows anything about Ireland will deny, that these people in the northeast of Ireland, from old prejudices perhaps more than from anything else, from the whole of their past history, would prefer, I believe, to accept the government of a foreign country rather than submit to be governed by the gentlemen below the gangway.—BONAR LAW, in House of Commons.

There is a spirit spreading abroad which I can testify to from my personal knowledge that Germany and the German Emperor would be preferred to the rule of John Redmond, Patrick Ford, and the Molly Maguires.—CAPTAIN CRAIG, M.P., *Morning Post*, January 9, 1911.

It may not be known to the rank and file of Unionists that we have the offer of aid from a powerful continental monarch who, if Home Rule is forced on the Protestants of Ireland, is prepared to send an army sufficient to release England of any further trouble in Ireland by attaching it to his dominion, believing, as he does, that if our King breaks his coronation oath by signing the Home Rule bill he will, by so doing, have forfeited his claim to rule Ireland. And should our King sign the Home Rule bill, the Protestants of Ireland will welcome this continental deliverer as their forefathers, under similar circumstances, did once before.—*The Irish Churchman*, November 14, 1913.

Who shall say that Mr. Asquith was not justified when he declared: "The reckless rhodomontade at Blenheim in the early sum-

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mer, as developed and amplified in this Ulster campaign, furnishes for the future a complete Grammar of Anarchy. The possession of a conscience and a repugnance to obey inconvenient or objectionable laws are not the monopoly of the Protestants of the northeast of Ireland. This new dogma, countersigned, as it now is, by all the leading men of the Tory party, will be invoked, and rightly invoked, cited, and rightly cited, called in aid, and rightly called in aid, whenever the spirit of lawlessness, fed and fostered by a sense whether of real or imaginary injustice, takes body and shape, and claims to stop the ordered machinery of a self-governing society . . . a more deadly blow—I say it with the utmost deliberation and with the fullest conviction—a more deadly blow has never been dealt in our time by any body of responsible politicians at the very foundations on which democratic government rests.”

Nor did these men let their threatened rebellion stop at words. On September 24, 1913, a provisional government of Ulster was formed, at Belfast, with Sir Edward Carson as chairman, James Campbell, James Chambers, John Gordon, and William Moore, provisional governors; Gen. Sir George Richard-

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son, commander-in-chief; Sir Frederick Smith and Sir James Craig, aides-de-camp, and Col. Hackett Pain, chief of staff.

Training-camps were established in Ulster, and at a great dinner in London Carson was presented with a shining sword. The Tory ladies of England offered their homes as hospitals for such Ulster patriots as should be wounded in the patriotic work of rebellion, and their daughters volunteered as nurses. Mr. Balfour, Lord Curzon, Lord Robert Cecil, Bonar Law, Smith, and Walter Long solemnly pledged the support of the Unionist party to the rebels.

The year 1914 opened with both forces in battle array. It was the third year, the passing of the Home Rule bill seemed to be automatic, and Bonar Law passionately declared that the country was rapidly and inevitably drifting to civil war. Parliament opened February 10, 1914, and an instant attempt to amend the Home Rule bill was rejected by a vote of 333 to 78, proving conclusively that threats had worked no change in the sentiment of the House. On March 3d England was startled by the publication of a "British covenant" declaring that the passage of a Home Rule bill would furnish

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justification for any action that might be effective to prevent it from going into operation. Among the many who signed this amazing document of defiance were Earl Roberts, the Duke of Portland, Viscounts Halifax and Milner, Lords Aldenham, Balfour of Burleigh, the Dean of Canterbury, and Rudyard Kipling.

In March the Unionists scored their first real victory. For some reason that has never been explained satisfactorily, Mr. Asquith weakened before the threat of rebellion and announced "projected concessions" to Ulster in moving the second reading of the Home Rule bill. Repeating that the government adhered firmly to the measure, he expressed anxiety to have the new régime start off with the best chance of success. His plan proposed that any county in Ulster, including the boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, might vote itself out for a term of six years from the first meeting of the Irish legislature in Dublin. The counties excluded would come into the Home Rule scheme automatically at the end of six years unless the Imperial Parliament determined otherwise.

Redmond, swallowing bitterness and

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checking the rage of his followers, stated that the proposals marked the extreme limit of concession and that the Nationalists would only acquiesce in them if they were frankly accepted by their Ulster opponents. Bonar Law and Carson refused, demanding permanent exclusion of all nine counties. In the face of this defiance it seemed for a while as if the courage of government would be restored. Winston Churchill, speaking on March 14th, said that the Prime Minister had made a fair and reasonable offer, the assent of the Nationalist leaders had been yielded, and it seemed to him final. It represented the hardest sacrifice ever asked of Irish Nationalism, but the Unionists were not satisfied. The Ulstermen still showed the old spirit of ascendancy. They seemed to think a settlement could only be achieved by threats; but, in the event of violence, the larger issue would be dominant whether parliamentary government was to be broken down before the menace of armed force. That had been fought out at Marston Moor. Apparently some sections of the propertied classes desired to subvert parliamentary government. Against such a mood, when manifested in action, there was no lawful

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measure from which the government should or would shrink. The government met the menace with patience, but with firmness. They were responsible for the peace of the British Empire. Who would dare to break it up? There must be one law for all; Great Britain was not to be reduced to the condition of Mexico. If Ulster sought peace and fair play, she knew where to find it; if she were to be made a tool, if parliamentary systems were to be brought to the challenge of force, he could only say, "Let us go forward together and put these grave matters to the proof."

On March 16th, the Prime Minister made a further statement in the Commons, saying that the government had put forward its proposals for the separate treatment of Ulster, not as the best way of dealing with Home Rule, but as a basis of settlement; if they were accepted in principle, the bill would have to be supplemented by a number of adjustments, financial and administrative, which were being worked out, but that the details would not be formulated unless the general principle were adopted and treated as a basis of agreement.

The Unionists answered with denuncia-

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tion and disorder, but the most sinister note was sounded by Bonar Law when he declared, "Soldiers are citizens like the rest of us," conveying the first intimation that the army had been seduced from its allegiance. Lloyd George met this challenge boldly, attacking the House of Lords and the Orangemen of Ulster as enemies of popular government, declaring that they proclaimed the doctrine of "optional obedience" and threatened rebellion in order that they might not cease to be the dominant caste.

The country was not long kept in suspense as to the state of the army. On March 14th, hearing that the Ulster Volunteers planned to seize all arsenals, the War Office sent the following instructions to General Paget in Ireland: "I am commanded by the Army Council to inform you that in consequence of reports which have been received by his Majesty's government that attempts may be made in various parts of Ireland by evil-disposed persons to obtain possession of arms, ammunition, and other government stores, it is considered advisable that you should at once take special precautions for safeguarding depots and other places where arms or stores are kept."

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Bonar Law now stood before the country as a true prophet. The answer to the War Office order was mutiny. General Gough, commanding the Third Cavalry Brigade, handed in his resignation, and fifty-seven of his officers did likewise, flatly refusing to proceed to Ulster to enforce law and order. Not a resignation was accepted, not an officer dismissed, and the sole result was to make credible the claim that the army was controlled by the Unionists and not by the government.

The next blow at duly elected authority came on April 24th, when 35,000 rifles and 3,000,000 cartridges, bought in Hamburg, were landed at Larne and distributed through Ulster by motor-trucks in open defiance of the proclamation forbidding the import of arms. Some 12,000 men in all were engaged in the landing. Volunteers guarded the roads, the telegraphs and telephones were interrupted, the coast-guards were powerless, and the customs officers and the police took no steps to interfere effectively.

Mr. Asquith stated that in view of "this grave and unprecedented outrage" the government would take appropriate steps without delay to vindicate the authority of the

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law, but nothing was done, and from this point on a fatal note of weakness crept into the words and policy of the ministry. Mr. Balfour even began to talk jubilantly of a "clean-cut separation of the northeast of Ireland from any scheme of Home Rule."

It is difficult to assign a reason for this new policy of indecision and actual cowardice. The powerful Labor party, the Liberal party itself, and a majority of the English people were plainly eager that the test be made between the government and the Ulster rebels. On April 6th, directly after the Gough mutiny, Home Rule had passed its second reading by an undiminished majority. On May 25th, also, when the bill came up for third reading, it passed enthusiastically. Now it was in the power of Mr. Asquith to have ended the matter decisively. He could have brought the session to an end and, after a month given to the Lords for consideration, handed the bill to the King for signature. Instead of that, he did nothing, leaving all action to the rebels. At East Belfast on June 2d Carson shouted that he "had come to make arrangements for the final scene," that he "was going to have more Mausers."

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To meet the menace of the Ulster Volunteers, a Home Rule organization called the National Volunteers had sprung into being. With Asquith weakening, Carson increasingly arrogant, and at least a part of the British army openly siding with Ulster, these National Volunteers now leaped to an amazing strength. On June 1st their members were estimated at 41,000 in Ulster, 42,000 in Leinster, 27,000 in Munster, and 19,000 in Connaught.

On June 23d the long-threatened amending bill was introduced in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Crewe, who explained that it was destined to meet the "religious forebodings of Ulster," and its fears regarding the "business capacity" of the men of the rest of Ireland. He admitted that the exclusion of Ulster was not liked either by the Opposition leaders or the Nationalists, and that Disraeli had forcefully repudiated the doctrine that Ireland was two nations. The government had had a preference for giving autonomy to Ulster, but this the Unionists refused. To exclude the whole of Ulster was impossible; it would not be a "clean cut," but a "ragged cut," owing to the great Nationalist majorities in Donegal, Mona-

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ghan, and Cavan. The bill would, therefore, embody the Prime Minister's offer of March 9th, that within three months after its passing any Ulster county should be entitled to vote itself in or out. The exclusion would be for six years from the first meeting of the Irish Parliament; at the end of that period there would be obligatory reconsideration, not automatic inclusion.

On June 28th occurred the murder of Sarajevo. Aside from shock, however, public opinion was not disturbed. Many speeches of tribute were made, Bonar Law declaring that "no living sovereign enjoyed in fuller measure than the aged Emperor the respect, confidence, and love of his people," while the Marquis of Lansdowne laid stress on the "manliness, simplicity of character, ability, and interest in public affairs" of the murdered archduke.

Early in July more machine-guns were landed for the Ulstermen, and it was announced that "rest-stations" were being arranged in England for Ulster refugee women and children. On July 10th Sir Edward Carson was given an enthusiastic welcome at Belfast, and Mr. Walter Long, addressing a meeting of Ulster delegates, declared that

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the supreme crisis was at hand, and again pledged the Unionist party's unflinching support to Ulster's armed resistance. On Monday, July 13th, 70,000 men marched from Belfast to Drumbeg, where Sir Edward Carson again emphasized Ulster's determination to resist. "Give us a clean cut," he said, "or come and fight us."

Debate on the amending bill began in the House of Lords, and Lord Morley, of Blackburn, in moving the second reading, stated that no part of Ulster was homogeneous; the National Volunteers had dispelled the illusion that the masses in the south and west of Ireland had lost their care for Home Rule, and the danger was that the constitutional agitation for self-government might give place to violence unless England granted justice quickly. The Marquis of Lansdowne answered, furiously, that the bill was fit for a museum and wholly inadequate to avert a calamity, and under his direction the Lords proceeded to transform it utterly.

Ulster, *all nine counties*, was entirely and permanently excluded from the Home Rule scheme, and was to be administered by a Secretary of State through offices and departments different from those exercising author-

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ity under the Home Rule bill; Ulster would continue to send members to the Imperial Parliament, in which Irish representation would be reduced to twenty-seven; judges would be appointed as under the existing system, and the appeal from Irish courts to the House of Lords would continue; land purchase would be reserved, so would the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the Lord-Lieutenant would control the Dublin metropolitan police.

It was an open declaration of war, and so intended, but even as Nationalists and Liberals gathered to meet it an astounding interruption occurred. On July 20th, the very day the gutted bill was to be taken up in the House of Commons, the King called a conference on the Irish question at Buckingham Palace, consisting of Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George; the Marquis of Lansdowne and Bonar Law for the Unionists of Great Britain; John Redmond and John Dillon for the Nationalists; and Sir Edward Carson and Sir James Craig for the Ulstermen.

This unexpected move was received with the utmost alarm by the Nationalists, the Labor party, and a section of the Liberals. The Nationalists knew that they could go no

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farther in concession, while the Labor leaders and the Liberals declared that the unconstitutional interference of the King sounded the real note of danger. It has long been rumored that the King would not sign the Home Rule bill except in conjunction with an amending bill, so that the Unionists needed only to make amendment impossible to insure a crisis, ending probably in the dismissal of Asquith and a general election.

The Daily News called the conference "a royal *coup d'état*," and the Labor party's views were expressed by Thomas, who objected to it as a deliberate attempt to defeat the Parliament Act, and also because "two rebels had been invited to take part." Labor leaders using the language of Carson and Law, he asserted, bitterly, would have known the inside of a jail at once.

This final open action of the King may explain why Mr. Asquith weakened when he seemed strongest, announcing "projected concessions" to Ulster after stating in public speech that Ulster's rebellion was a "deadly blow at the very foundations on which democratic government rests." The King, Tory to the marrow and characteristically Hanoverian in his stubbornness, has ever stood



Photo by Paul Thompson

JOHN DILLON (ON LEFT) AND JOHN REDMOND RETURNING FROM THE BUCKINGHAM PALACE CONFERENCE

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like iron against any measure of independence for Ireland, and if he was bold enough to intervene at the last, is there reason to doubt that he exerted royal pressure privately from the very first? In any event, the conference ended in failure after four days of furious debate. The citation of election returns, showing that Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan were overwhelmingly Nationalist, forced the surrender of Unionist claims to these three counties, but Lansdowne and Carson insisted upon the arbitrary and permanent exclusion of the other six counties of Ulster. Redmond and Dillon pointed out that the Nationalists also possessed majorities in Tyrone and Fermanagh and insisted that the people of Ulster be allowed to vote on inclusion or exclusion, but this fair proposition was flatly refused. On the heels of the conference's failure, an ugly discrimination in the enforcement of law further intensified the situation.

On July 25th over 5,000 Ulster Volunteers, fully armed, paraded Belfast without the slightest police interference.

On July 26th about 1,000 unarmed National Volunteers marched from Dublin to Howth to unload rifles and ammunition from

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an anchored yacht. Soldiers and police, hastily summoned, tried to disarm and arrest the Volunteers, but a spirited resistance with fists and clubs proved successful enough to give the gun-bearers time for escape. It was not until evening that the soldiers—a company of the King's Own Scottish Borderers—marched back to Dublin. Crowds gathered, yelling and jeering, and some stones were thrown, whereat fire was opened upon the people, killing four and wounding sixty.

A commission of inquiry was appointed at once, but did not report until October 1st, when it found that the employment of the police and military was illegal, that General Cuthbert, who allowed the military to be used, was wrong in doing so; that the soldiers were not justified in firing, and that the twenty-one soldiers who fired did so without orders, but believing that they had them. But no punishment of any kind was inflicted upon any one.

All the while the war-clouds gathered. On July 31st Mr. Asquith announced that the amending bill would have to be postponed in view of the international crisis. On August 2d the storm burst.

Chapter II

Broken Pledges or "German Plots"

IN the hour when civilized Europe rallied to beat back the German horror there came a tremendous moment that calm historians of the future will assuredly adjudge the glory of Ireland and the shame of England. In a speech sublimely eloquent John Redmond pledged his country and his countrymen to the British cause. Possessed of full ability to dictate terms, he did not stoop to barter. Holding the balance of power with his eighty Irish votes, he could have overthrown the Liberal ministry, plunging England into confusion and ruin, but he scorned to haggle. Instead of crying, "Let me see Home Rule in operation before I move a hand or say a word," Redmond made instant decision out of his own honor and high faith. Looking beyond Ireland, he saw civilization in the balance; sweeping aside seven centuries of oppression and a year of betrayal, he flung

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himself, his party, and his motherland upon the honesty and justice of England in one magnificent gesture. Dragging his party leaders with him, he campaigned for recruits in Ireland and sent his own brother to a grave in France.

On September 18th Mr. Asquith sent to the King the Home Rule bill he had been holding back for six weeks. With it, for signature with the same pen, he sent a suspensory bill, passed in four days, *postponing operation of Home Rule indefinitely*. This was the answer to Redmond. Nor was it all. "Make us responsible for Ireland," pleaded the Irish leader. "Take out every English soldier and we will guarantee you law and order and friendship." The request was refused, garrisons were continued, and at the time of the great German push, when the Allies needed every man to beat back what seemed certain defeat, over 50,000 trained and well-equipped English soldiers were in Ireland. Kitchener also added to the bitterness by an unfortunate remark that received wide circulation. When waited upon by Redmond, who spoke to him in terms of 250,000 recruits, he said: "If Ireland gives me 5,000 I will say, 'Thank you.' If she

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gives me 12,000 I will say, 'I am deeply obliged.'"

Connaught Rangers, Munster Fusiliers, and Dublin Fusiliers, recruited enthusiastically, were not allowed to form an Irish brigade as Redmond begged, nor even permitted to choose their own officers, these organizations, 90 per cent. Catholic Nationalists, being put under the command of Ulster and English Protestant Unionists. Women were forbidden to make green banners for their fighting sons, and, as if the alienation of the Irish had been decided upon as an objective, English authority in Ireland reverted to harshness. Free speech and free press were crushed, men and women were thrown into jail for the most trivial offenses, the right to assemble was denied, and deportations became common. As Lloyd George himself bore testimony: "At the most crucial period of recruiting at the beginning of the war, some stupidities, which at times looked almost like malignance, were perpetrated in Ireland and were beyond belief. It is very difficult to recover a lost opportunity of that kind where national susceptibilities have been offended and original enthusiasm killed."

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All the while the Ulster leaders were continuing their policy of defiance and rebellion. Speaking at Belfast, Sir Edward Carson said: "When the war is over I propose to summon the Provisional government together. And I propose, if necessary, so far as Ulster is concerned, that their first act shall be to repeal the Home Rule bill as regards Ulster. And I propose in the same act to enact that it is the duty of the Volunteers to see that no act, or no attempt at an act, under that bill should ever have effect in Ulster. . . . *We have plenty of guns, and we are going to keep them. We are afraid of nothing.*"

In spite of all, Ireland answered Redmond's clear call, and fair disclosure of the war records will show that over 200,000 Irishmen fought under England's flag on every front, as brave as the bravest. Even Kitchener, watching Irish volunteering, was forced to cry, "Magnificent!" Earl Grey declared that Ireland was "the one bright spot in the darkness of war," and Gilbert Chesterton, thrilled by the sight of Irish soldiers fighting in defense of their oppressor, wrote that "England is unworthy to kiss the hem of Ireland's garment."

In May, 1915, the blow fell that crushed

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Redmond and turned Ireland's enthusiasm into bitter resentment. As if enough had not been done to anger and alienate, Cabinet changes forced Nationalist Ireland to look on helplessly while the leaders of the Ulster rebellion were elevated to high office. Bonar Law was made Secretary for the Colonies; Sir Frederick Smith, Solicitor-General for England; John Gordon, Attorney-General for Ireland; Walter Long, Secretary of the Local Government Board, and, worst of all, Carson became Attorney-General for England.

A wave of fury rose and broke. All Irishmen and many Englishmen felt that the Ulster rebellion was at the heart of Germany's determination to launch the World War. Nor can the neutral opinion of the world hold any other view. At what point was Berlin unjustified in the belief that England, threatened by civil war, would not dare to enter the international conflict? There was the bold and repeated threat of rebellion, the declarations of Carson and Bonar Law and other Tory leaders that they preferred German rule to Home Rule; the Ulster purchase of arms in Hamburg; the resignation of General Gough and his fifty-seven officers to prove that mutiny was rife in the army, and then

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the paralysis of government in dealing with treason. Ambassador Gerard, Dr. E. J. Dillon, one of the best-informed journalists in Europe, and Baron Beyens, the Belgian Minister at Berlin, all have borne written testimony that the Kaiser and his advisers relied strongly upon the Ulster Irish to tie the hands of England. To quote Mr. Gerard's blunt phrase, "The raising of the Ulster army by Sir Edward Carson, one of the most gigantic political bluffs in all history, which had no more revolutionary or political significance than a torchlight parade during one of our Presidential campaigns, was reported by the German spies as a real and serious revolutionary movement, and, of course, it was believed by the Germans that Ireland would rise in rebellion the moment that war was declared." Why not? With the most powerful voices in England hailing the Kaiser as "that great Protestant prince" and "continental deliverer," what more proper for Wilhelm to assume than that he would be welcomed by the English even as William of Orange and his Dutch following were once given the possessions of the Stuarts? How was he to know it as mere claptrap, a valid move in the political game as played in Eng-

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land and the United States, where the welfare of a nation, the aspirations of people, are secondary considerations in the sordid struggle for place and profit and privilege?

Even as Ulster rebels were exalted, so was Redmond flouted and Home Rule betrayed. The one hope of the Irish was Redmond's balance of power, but this was now destroyed by the coalition that united Liberals and Unionists. With no agency of pressure remaining, with Carson and Law now part and parcel of the government, the great mass of the Irish people definitely surrendered all hope of Home Rule by constitutional methods, ceased volunteering, and gave themselves over to the ancient hatred of England. Rage grew and events marched automatically to that tragic Easter Monday of 1916 when a handful of Dublin men pitted themselves against the might of England in one of those futile uprisings that are at once the glory and the despair of Ireland. The mad venture was doomed to defeat from the very first, and virtually every man who took arms offered his life on the altar of Irish freedom with no larger hope than that his death might call the attention of the world to the Irish struggle for liberty.

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On May 1st the last stronghold was taken, the last rebel captured, and the English at once commenced to make wholesale arrests. The prisoners sent to England numbered 1,619, and on May 3d Mr. Asquith announced that Pearse, Clarke, and MacDonagh had been shot in Kilmainham jail. On May 4th, Plunkett, Daly, O'Hanrahan, and William Pearse were executed; on May 5th, Major McBride; on May 8th, Colbert, Mallon, Ceannt, and Heuston; on May 12th, Connolly and MacDermott.

The reprisals had their culmination in the shooting of Connolly. Wounded during the siege at the post-office, his leg shattered, he was taken in an ambulance to Kilmainham jail, propped up in a chair, and filled with bullets from a firing-squad. A little later Ireland was treated to the edifying spectacle of Sir Frederick Smith, the "Ulster Galloper," prosecuting Sir Roger Casement for treason.

Mercy may be sneered at in connection with this Dublin rebellion, but no leader nor man in the Ulster rebellion had ever been arrested, much less shot. Nor was precedent lacking for the exercise of a wise clemency. There was rebellion in South Africa in 1914,



PADRAIC PEARSE

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an uprising so serious that for a time decision hung in the balance. Colonel Maritz, commanding British forces in Cape Province; General Beyers, commandant-general of the Union Defense forces, and Gen. Christian de Wet in the Orange Free State, went boldly over to the German cause and for six weeks, at the head of 10,000 men, fought desperately to swing South Africa away from England. They were conquered and 7,000 rebels were captured, but there were no executions, a course that had its reward in South African loyalty.

However great a failure militarily, the Dublin revolt accomplished the one object hoped by the rebels. Once again the British government was forced to consider Irish self-government. In May Mr. Asquith went to Dublin and upon his return announced that the present system of government in Ireland had "broken down hopelessly" and that the "highest Imperial interests" demanded that Home Rule should be brought into immediate operation by consent. He stated also that the Cabinet, acting unanimously, had intrusted this delicate task to Lloyd George. Conferences with all leaders commenced at once, and this plan was agreed

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upon: To place Home Rule in immediate operation, but with temporary and provisional exclusion of six Ulster counties until Parliament could take up the matter after the war; that during the transitory period pending the permanent settlement the number of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament should remain unchanged.

This plan was made the basis of a written agreement, drawn up in the form of a bill to be introduced, and, upon the explicit understanding that it had the approval of the whole Cabinet and would not be changed in any particular, Redmond and Devlin gave it their acceptance and went to Ireland to win the support of their followers. There was no question that they took their political lives in their hands. The conference gave six counties to the Unionists without the fairness and honesty of a vote, and carried also a surrender of the Home Rule law that was even then on the statute-books. The sentiment of the south and west was bitter against exclusion of any kind, and as for Ulster itself, the Nationalist majorities of Tyrone and Fermanagh were being cut off from Home Rule and handed over to Unionist control and domination. These coun-

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ties, and the large Nationalist votes in Derry and Armagh, rose furiously against exclusion, but Redmond and Devlin, by sheer strength of personality, carried the day and returned to England with the indorsement of the settlement.

On June '29th, two days after the Belfast conference, the Marquis of Lansdowne rose in the House of Lords and repudiated in every essential particular the agreement to which his assent had been pledged. He announced that he would insist upon the *permanent* and arbitrary exclusion of the six Ulster counties, and in a speech remarkable for its ugly feeling characterized the Irish people as a race of rebels absolutely unworthy of any trust.

As a direct consequence of this attitude, Lloyd George sent for Redmond and informed him that another Cabinet council had been held and that it had been decided to insert in the bill *two entirely new conditions—one providing for the permanent exclusion of the Ulster counties, and the other cutting out the provision for the retention of Irish members in their full force at Westminster during the transitory period.* Redmond was told flatly that this decision was not put before him for the pur-

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pose of discussion or consultation, as it was the intention of the government to introduce a bill containing these provisions, whether he and his supporters approved it or not.

Redmond protested desperately against such procedure, pointing out that the assent of his supporters in Ireland had been obtained solely on the basis of the agreement, and that he had publicly pledged himself to oppose the bill if an attempt were made to alter the proposition in any vital particular. On the floor of the House he charged the Ministers with breaking their words because the Marquis of Lansdowne had threatened to leave the Cabinet. "I had hoped," he said, "that the pledges of British Ministers were more valuable than the retention of the Marquis of Lansdowne." Lloyd George admitted that the heads of the settlement had been departed from in vital particulars, and the matter ended with this admission. The "highest Imperial interests" were forgotten and Home Rule was tossed back into the closet of oblivion.

In the House of Commons on July 31st Mr. Dillon moved this question: "That, in view of the announcement by the government that they do not intend to introduce

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their long-promised bill to settle the government of Ireland, it is vitally necessary and urgent that the government should immediately disclose to the House plans for the future government of Ireland during the continuance of the war."

Mr. Asquith, in reply, announced the appointment of a Unionist as Chief Secretary for Ireland, a Mr. Duke, who was on record as having made this speech in 1912: "The men of Ulster have a moral right to resist, and the killing of men who resist is not an act of oppression—it is an act of murder."

Mr. Dillon, in bitter answer, pointed out that there was "no government in Ireland at all, except an absolutely military government, acting under the combined authority of martial law and of the Defense of the Realm Act, and, after the three months of chaos in the government of Ireland, Mr. Asquith proposes as his remedy merely the setting up again of the machinery which he himself stated had hopelessly broken down."

On December 5, 1916, the Asquith ministry fell with a crash. The task of forming a new Cabinet was given by the King to Bonar Law, who in 1914 had solemnly and officially pledged the support of the Unionist party to

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the conspiracy that had for its object the overthrow of the supreme authority of the Empire. Bonar Law failed in his attempt, and Lloyd George, called to be Premier, formed a Cabinet and put Ulster rebels at his right hand in places of power. Sir Edward Carson was made First Lord of the Admiralty; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; Sir Frederick Smith was promoted to be Attorney-General for England; Sir James Campbell, a member of the Ulster Provisional government, was appointed Lord Chief Justice of Ireland; Sir James Craig, chief of staff of the Ulster army, Treasurer of his Majesty's Household; John Gordon, another member of the Ulster Provisional government, judge of the High Court of Justice, and Walter Long, Irish adviser to the War Cabinet. For good measure, three enthusiastic supporters of the Ulster rebellion—Earl Curzon, Lord Milner, and Austen Chamberlain—were raised to highest authority; and Mr. Balfour, Ireland's ancient enemy, was retained as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is impossible in this, as in the events that preceded it, to escape the conviction that

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Lloyd George swallowed the majority of those principles upon which he had risen to place and power. As no other man in England, he was committed to Home Rule, while every protestation of his political life aligned him unalterably against the men now chosen by him as his associates. Time and again he had branded the Ulster leaders as rebels and traitors, while their abuse of him had been vicious to the last degree. Curzon, with his record in India, and Milner, for his merciless administration in South Africa, were hated by all English liberals, and not a Unionist in the new Cabinet but was known to be essentially undemocratic and a bitter foe to every social reform, their utterances recalling the solemn dicta of the Bourbons.

There is this to be pleaded in extenuation, however, if not justification. Real as Mr. Asquith's values were in time of peace, he was not the type of man for a war Premier. Lloyd George felt this, and believed that he himself was the most adequate person for the place. This does not necessarily imply egotism, but might well denote an honest self-confidence born of past performance. In any event, Lloyd George assumed that the best interests of England and the Allies

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demanding the elimination of Mr. Asquith, and as this could not be brought about by the aid of Liberals, for the majority loved Mr. Asquith and could not be won away from loyalty, the only recourse was an alliance with the Tories. Such an alliance, as a matter of course, meant a clean-cut break with the Irish party, the Liberals, and the Labor party, his old friends and the forces responsible for his rise, but doubtless he argued that this price, to be paid personally, after all, was not too high for the war success that he felt confident would be won by the superior energy and initiative of his leadership. Whatever the motive, the trade took place, and Lloyd George, as Premier, took the Tories selected for him by the Unionist party, and recanted many of the pledges and beliefs that had formerly dominated his life. Carson, Milner, Curzon, and Law, for instance, constituted a majority of four in the War Council of six, and their presence served plain notice upon Ireland that Ulster was in the ascendant and Home Rule a dead issue.

Until this time the Sinn Fein had been utterly without political power, existing only as a force for the revival of the Irish language,

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industries, and national spirit, although protesting always against the folly and futility of Redmond's "appeal to English justice." Up to 1916 Sinn Fein had ventured only one candidate, and his defeat had been overwhelming. But now, as the people of Ireland saw the Nationalists despised and derided, and as they contrasted the power and glory of the Ulster rebels with the executions and quicklime burials of the Dublin revolutionists, they turned away from the party of Redmond definitely and forever, and gave whole-hearted, almost fanatical, allegiance to Sinn Fein and its demand for an Irish republic.

Unhappy Redmond! Forty years of unfaltering devotion to a cause, and at the end a great loneliness, a distrust so savage as to border on the intensity of hate. Not death in the glory of the fight, with love and loyalty at hand to carve his name in the heart of posterity, but miserably ambushed by a trick, undone by his own faith and honor, led by his own idealism into a position that made him seem a traitor, or what is worse in the eyes of the Irish, a fool. His spirit sickened to its death even as the spirit of Parnell had died in another day, and he

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walked out of health to the grave without a sigh or backward glance. A great man, and never so great as in the hour when he risked himself and his country on English faith that civilization might be saved.

It remained for America's entry into the World War to bring the Irish question back into the realm of "practical politics." There were England's necessities in the matter of food and money to be considered, and, what was even more important, the unity of thought, sympathy, and action between England and the United States that had to be brought about in the interest of military success. A division, or even less than 100 per cent. partnership, was bound to be hurtful, if not fatal. From our standpoint, it was evil enough that Ireland had been driven back into her old bitterness by England's policies, but this feeling gained in intensity from the natural expectation that Americans of Irish blood and descent would remember these policies in the hour when their adopted country called upon them to fight side by side with Englishmen for "the freedom of small peoples." In those first days it was the volunteer method that we were relying upon, and what with the great mass of Ger-

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man-speaking people in our midst, all racial prejudices assumed important proportions. It was plain to be seen, therefore, that the Irish question had some very vital American aspects, and that its settlement was immeasurably the largest contribution that England could make to the common cause.

Lloyd George was not lacking in appreciation of the fact that there were 15,000,000 of Irish blood or descent in the United States, powerful in war and equally powerful in politics, and, reaching down into the closet of forgotten things, he drew up the tattered Irish question. In a letter to John Redmond, under date of April 27th, he asserted his deep and continuing interest in Ireland, and proposed an Irish convention, promising that if a substantial majority agreed upon a plan of Home Rule, the English government would legalize the agreement by statute. The Sinn Fein jeeringly refused to have anything to do with the proposition, pointing to the suspension of the Home Rule law as an evidence of English faith, but Redmond and his party grasped at the chance, feeling that the pressure of Irish-American sentiment and President Wilson's well-known sympathy with Ireland's cause would induce England

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to grant the justice so long denied. The convention was called in due course—even without Sinn Féin participation it was truly representative—and, after a year of discussion and deliberation, a weak Home Rule plan was agreed upon by all but nineteen Ulster Unionists, Protestant prelates voting with Catholic Nationalists for the adoption of the majority report. The body reported on April 5, 1918, and Lloyd George straightway held that the dissenting votes of the nineteen Ulster politicians indicated a lack of "substantial agreement," and then announced that Ireland's case would thereafter be treated as a purely British question.

What more natural? America had been in the war for a year, the loans asked by England had been made, fully 15 per cent. of the American fighting force was Irish as to ancestry, the Irish of the United States had put aside prejudices in devotion to the American cause, so that the only irreconcilables left to be considered were his own associates, such as Carson, Bonar Law, and Smith.

Yet still another act remained to be played in the drama of bitterness. On April 9th, Lloyd George announced that the conscrip-

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tion clause in the man-power bill would be applied to Ireland, but that a generous self-government measure would also be framed at once. He stated conclusively, however, that conscription and Home Rule did not go together; they were separate and each must stand on its own merits. The furious astonishment of the Irish members broke all bounds. Why not Home Rule first, they asked, then the request for conscription, thus permitting the Irish a voice in a decision having to do with life and death? England had not dared to attempt an arbitrary application of the man-power bill to Australia, Canada, or South Africa, the proposition being submitted to the vote of the people in all three countries, the one sane, decent course where free men were involved. Instead of this, the English government, by right of its might, had resolved to dragoon Irishmen to fight for the one country responsible for their slavery, after which it would repudiate its Home Rule pledge just as it had repudiated all the others.

Mr. Asquith, in moderate, but unmistakable terms, registered his belief that the government was committing a fatal blunder, and begged that Irish conscription be delayed

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until the Home Rule measure should be framed and passed. The representatives of labor supported the suggestion vigorously, and expressed intense dissatisfaction when the government refused to give any definite assurance as to its intentions with respect to Home Rule. Lloyd George, however, pressed forward stubbornly and all Ireland massed to resist, Nationalists and Sinn Fein joining for the campaign. On April 23d there was a workless day as an expression of popular revolt, and at the same time Carson, in Belfast, launched a bitter assault against Lloyd George, declaring that Ulster, while supporting conscription, would stop at nothing in its resistance to a Home Rule bill.

The Prime Minister, defying the storm, drove through the measure, but for some reason changed his mind at the last moment and failed to send it to the King for signature. By the middle of May it was confidently assumed that conscription for Ireland was dead, while Carson's threats were considered to have killed the Home Rule proposition. On May 17th, like a bolt from the blue, Dublin Castle issued a proclamation declaring the discovery of a vast German plot. De Valera, Arthur Griffith. and scores

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of Sinn Fein leaders were caught in the wide sweep of a military dragnet and the prisoners, batch after batch, were sent to England to be confined "during the King's pleasure." These arrests and deportations were a revival of the methods of 1881, when the English Parliament gave despotic power to Forster in a desperate endeavor to crush the Land League.

As the days passed, without either arraignment or trial of any of the prisoners, a general demand arose that some proof of the plot be given to the people. The Irish Nationalists, the Labor party as a whole, many Liberals, and a large portion of the press joined in the insistence that evidence be produced, but the government stood firm in its silence. In this connection, nothing is more significant than the statement of Lord Wimbourne, General French's predecessor as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, that throughout his régime he had discovered no sign of the alleged plot, and asserting his belief that satisfactory evidence of its existence could not be produced.

To finish this portion of the story, it may be stated that the Sinn Fein men and women remained in English prisons from May, 1918, until March, 1919, without arraignment,

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without the production of one single piece of evidence against them, and without right of counsel. In March, 1919, quietly as might be, the English government began releasing the prisoners in small batches.

On June 22d conscription and Home Rule alike were formally abandoned, despite Bonar Law's initial statement that the government would "stand or fall by conscription" and the equally solemn pledge of Lloyd George that a Home Rule bill *would* be passed. So the tragedy ran its course to the elections in December, 1918. The Sinn Fein put before the people the following platform:

First, to demand as a minimum the establishment of an Independent Irish Republic, and the total separation of Ireland from the political system known as the British Empire. And as a means toward the achievement of this object:

(a) That all Nationalists Members of Parliament should be pledged not to attend the House of Commons.

(b) To place all reliance for the future of Ireland on "the armed young men of Ireland," and an armed rising against the power of the British Empire; or, failing this,

(c) On an appeal to the Peace Conference.

The Irish party went before the people with its wonderful record of achievement in

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forty years of hard fighting, but against this record was the inescapable fact that Home Rule, its fundamental objective, had not been won. It had gained material prosperity for the land, but what was that to a people so in love with freedom that every year in seven centuries had seen them die for it!

There was no question as to the result from the very first. The Sinn Fein victory was overwhelming. Out of thirty-two counties in Ireland, its candidates ran absolutely unopposed in twenty-two. In Ulster it swept Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan, won majorities in Fermanagh and Tyrone, carried the Unionist stronghold, Derry City, and lost only in Down, Derry, Armagh, and Antrim. Out of 101 members, the Sinn Fein won 73, the Nationalists 7, and the Unionists 21.

In early January Lloyd George announced the composition of his new ministry. Bonar Law was raised to be Lord Privy Seal and leader in the House of Commons; Sir Frederick E. Smith received promotion to Lord High Chancellor; Austen Chamberlain became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl Curzon, the President of the Council and leader in the House of Lords; and Walter

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Long, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Milner was transferred to be Secretary for the Colonies; Mr. Balfour remained Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and a *Scotchman*, Ian MacPherson, went to Ireland as Chief Secretary. Ulster control of England and Ireland was now complete.

On January 21st the first session of the Irish Parliament was held in Dublin, and its first call was to the free nations of the world to support the Irish republic by recognizing Ireland's national status. Laughable, perhaps, but not more so than the Americans that met in Faneuil Hall or the first session of the Continental Congress in the small brick building of the Carpenters' Association in Philadelphia. Some young and reckless, some old and academic, but for the most part a gathering of very intense patriots with sanely constructive ideas about finance, education, economics, industry, merchant marine, foreign trade—all, however, a unit in conviction as to the justice and necessity of Ireland's independence.

So ends the "Home Rule" chapter in Irish history.



LIBERTY HALL

Headquarters of the revolutionary movement in Dublin

Photo by Paul Thompson

Chapter III

Five Centuries of Irish War

MUCH has been made, and will be made, of the charge that the Dublin revolt of 1916 was part and parcel of German intrigue, and that the leaders received money and arms from Germany. The object, of course, is to prejudice the Allies and the United States against the Irish cause by smearing it with the blood and grime of Prussianism. Even if the truth of the claim be granted, what bearing have the happenings of 1916 upon the betrayal of Home Rule in 1914? If Connolly and Pearse were indeed German agents in German pay, the fact stands clear that the rebels at no time numbered more than 1,000 men, the citizens of Dublin refusing to rise and the rest of Ireland aiding and abetting the rebellion in no perceptible degree. Are 4,000,000 to be punished for the act of 1,000? Also, against Connolly's "rebels" may be placed those heroes of

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Munster and Dublin who first dared the shore at Gallipoli, forcing a foothold in the face of a Turkish fire that killed 700 out of the 1,000 that attacked.

Charges of "traitorous alliances with Germany," for that matter, come with poor grace from a government that honored Carson, Craig, Chambers, Gordon, and Moore, and which even to-day has Bonar Law, Walter Long, and Sir Frederick Smith in its highest places. As has been pointed out, these men rebelled against the authority of the Empire in 1914, seduced the army from its allegiance, openly declared that they preferred German rule to Home Rule, appealed to "that great Protestant prince," the Kaiser, and secured arms from Germany, all constituting overt treason that undoubtedly helped to precipitate the World War by convincing Berlin that England would not and could not intervene. In addition, there is England's war treatment of Ireland to be considered; the repudiation of Home Rule, insults and malignities, to use Lloyd George's phrase, wholesale arrests and deportations, and the arrogant attempt at conscription without appeal to the people. Taking all these things into account, fairness

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will find it somewhat difficult to censure and hate, even if it were proved conclusively that 1,000 Irish extremists did indeed ask aid of Germany, England's enemy.

Sinn Fein, however, denies the charge of a "German alliance" bitterly and absolutely. Its leaders defy the English government to produce any credible evidence that a single German dollar or German rifle figured in the Dublin revolt, or that the Irish republican movement ever received assistance of any kind from any German source. Roger Casement, his mind turned by ill health and injustice, acted merely as an individual in his dealings with Berlin, and published letters show plainly that the Sinn Fein leaders did not want him in Ireland, and spent most of the time trying to keep Casement in the dark as to their plans, fearful always of his erratic and hair-trigger co-operation.

Brushing aside all talk of "German intrigue," and even contemptuously ignoring British "malignities" in connection with recruiting, Sinn Fein strikes down to the fundamentals of the case, and declares the Dublin uprising a valid continuation of Ireland's "unbroken tradition"—merely another revolt added to the seven centuries

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of Irish struggle against the English attempt at conquest and subjugation. The British plaint that "Ireland has not been loyal" is met by the answer that disloyalty presupposes loyalty, allegiance assumes subjection, and that never in history has Ireland pledged loyalty or given allegiance to England or England's rulers. For seven hundred years, they say, the Irish heart has echoed to the cry that "England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity," and even as she has fought herself, so has Ireland never failed to make alliance with Britain's foes. French, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian alike have sent fleets and armies at the request of Irish rebels, and it is a commonplace of Irish policy that any enemy of England is Ireland's friend.

History bears out this claim in every particular and to the last bloody detail. The supreme tragedy of a race that has known nothing but tragedies lies in the fact that the record of Ireland's long struggle for freedom has been written down by enemy hands as seen by enemy eyes. As far back as 1599, Lord Essex wrote to Queen Elizabeth, "'Twere as well for our credit that we alone had the exposition of our quarrel with this people, and not they also," and this policy

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of suppression and misrepresentation has been followed faithfully by every English government since the Virgin Queen. The world to-day knows next to nothing of Irish history, and even the little that is known has been learned from English sources. Lacking the full truth, the world has lacked full sympathy; that which should have been eternally vivid became permanently clouded, and love of liberty took on the drab colors of rioting, lawlessness, and ingratitude. Here and there, however, the flame of truth has blazed high above the wall of concealment, and even the pages of such English writers as Macaulay, Lecky, Green, and Froude, when put together, paint well a people unable to know happiness while their bodies know a fetter.

The full picture shows that the Irish have never ceased to look upon the English as invaders; have never ceased to regard English rule as slavery. Virtually every generation since 1195 has expressed this deep feeling in war and insurrection, defeat seeming only to feed and strengthen the passion for liberty. This is what the world has never understood and what England cannot understand. After seven hundred years of defeat the English naturally expect submission, and continued

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resistance takes on the color of mere stubbornness. Also, when enormous superiorities in size and resources make the issue certain, continued rebellion savors of insanity to them. People of any intelligence, they argue, would submit to the inevitable and accept the beneficences of peace. This deep conviction of Irish unintelligence is at the very heart of the English ruling-class attitude toward Ireland.

It cannot be seen—it will not be seen—that the Irishman cares nothing for safety, comfort, or prosperity unless these be the *result* of freedom; but even if freedom means poverty, privation, and famine, still does he insist on having it. The Gael does not find his death in the grave, but in the clank of a chain; with him liberty is not an intellectual process, but a passion; naturally enough, since existence is valueless to him without liberty, no chance for liberty is too hazardous to keep him from staking his existence on it. Viewed from the English standpoint, therefore, the Irish are unreasonable and incredible; looked at, however, in the light of seven centuries of struggle for the freedom that is more to them than love of life or fear of death, the Irish are perfectly intelligible.

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Before taking up the dramatic high lights of this struggle, so vital to full American understanding of the Irish question, a brief word as to beginnings may not be amiss. Ireland was a federated nation of four kingdoms, with an ard-ri (high king) and a triennial Parliament, at a time when England was a Roman colony and France a welter of small tribal powers. The Seanchus Mor, or Great Book of Laws, gave organized justice to Ireland before the English and the French had risen above the oral judgment of individual chieftains. Irish scholarship ushered in the dawn of universal learning, for it was from the Irish monasteries that the stream of preachers and teachers poured forth that illumined the savage darkness of early England and western Europe. A free people, a strong, proud people, the Irish lived by and to themselves for a thousand years before foreign aggression threatened their ancient liberties.

It was in 795 that Ireland suffered its first invasion. The Danes, swarming down from Jutland, Norway, and Sweden, laid waste the Irish coast and builded strong fortresses on the ruins of castle and cathedral. Aside from the fact of invasion, the religious nature

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of the struggle gave it an added intensity. The Irish stood for the one God against Norse mythology, and the pages of the Four Masters are filled with the heroism of "kings and chieftains, lords and toparchs," and the courage of bishops and abbots who "suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ." For two hundred years the battle raged, but in 1014, on the wild field of Clontarf, Brian and Malachi crushed the Danish hosts decisively and drove the raven banner from their shores. Even as Sigurd and Sitric fled in their long ships, the English were suffering the defeat that gave the nation a line of Danish kings.

Saxon followed Dane on the English throne. William the Conqueror then won at Hastings, but it was not until Henry II that the predatory Norman-Angevin spirit turned its attention to Ireland and commenced the deadly grapple that has never known an end.

In 1169 Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, landed the first of the Anglo-Norman hosts to touch Irish soil, and two years later Henry himself came at the head of an army of 10,000. While from that day to this the English have never been driven out of Ireland, at no time have the Irish ever admitted conquest, years

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of peace being no more than breathing-spells to gain new strength for the next struggle. Grim and terrible were these wars. The courage of the Irish was of a quality that wrung admiration even from the fierce Normans. Clad only in saffron shirts, armed poorly with skeans and ashen stakes, they hurled themselves undauntedly against the armor, lances, and great swords of the invaders. Froissart, commenting upon this, remarks: "Ireland is one of the yvell countries of the world to make war upon, for a man of arms, beyng never so well horsed, and ron as fast as he can, the Yrishhemenn will ryn abote as fast as he, and overtake hym, yea, and leap up upon his horse behynde him and drawe hym from his horse."

Henry knew his successes in Munster and Leinster, but Ulster and Connaught beat him back. The expeditions of John failed equally, and under Edward II there hung a bloody moment when it seemed that the English invasion might be crushed decisively. Aroused by the victories of the Bruces, the Irish of Ulster suggested an alliance, and the great Robert sent over his brother Edward with 6,000 hardy Scots behind him. The Prince of Tyrone joined forces with him, but

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after three years of victory Scotch and Irish went down to defeat, the body of Bruce was cut into bits, and the head went forward in salt to King Edward as a sign of peace. Even so, the English hold was frail, the British soldiery huddling in a few fortified towns, and Richard II resolved upon complete conquest. First in 1394, with an army of 34,000, and again in 1399, he launched great offensives, but the indomitable MacMurrough, King of Leinster, scattered Richard's hosts to the winds and sent him home to lose his crown.

Came the Henrys—Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth—and then Edward, third of his name, and each knew his disasters in connection with the Irish invasion. When Henry VIII ascended the throne, to use the words of Green, English sovereignty in Ireland was a “mere phantom of rule.” It was at this point, also, that there was strikingly evidenced a curious phenomenon that has remained to stand out as the most marked characteristic of the Irish. Even as the Gael had assimilated the Northmen, so did the race “Irishize” Angle and Norman. Despite the terrific Statute of Kilkenny, that laid down the death penalty for marriage

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with the Irish, or adoption of customs or costumes, the Geraldines, the Burgos, the Fitzpatricks, the Butlers, and the de la Poers had become "more Irish than the Irish" and equally bitter in their hatred of English tyranny.

In 1534, under the leadership of the Geraldines, these nobles defied the power of Henry VIII but artillery—new to Irish warfare—crushed the revolt. The whole latter half of Henry's reign was given over to Irish conquest, and his strength, joined with justice and wisdom, brought the island nearer to surrender than ever before. Henry, however, lost all by his ruthless attempt to crush Catholicism, for the Irish, without regard to faction, united again as a nation to fight for the faith of St. Patrick. Edward VI, continuing the work, proclaimed Protestant doctrine in Ireland, and went beyond the Statute of Kilkenny with futile laws designed to save English colonists from assimilation by the Gael.

Elizabeth, inheriting revolt, also had the misfortune to see a statesman and great general rise to lordship over the Irish. Shane O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, called Ulster to arms in 1551, and for sixteen years his craft made a mock of English compromises, while his

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courage and genius smote down 'army after army. Domestic malice, rather than English arms, brought him ruin and death, but again in 1579 the Geraldines rose to carry on the Irish tradition. Aid was begged from Spain and Italy, but it was received in such small measure that the earls went down to defeat in 1583, the great Desmond fleeing to the hills to be killed like a homeless dog as he hid in a glen.

From north to south the victors marched, slaying and ravaging until the land lay still and barren. It did not seem possible that a vestige of resistance could be left, for, as Edmund Spenser wrote, "the people were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony hart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, and if they found a plot of watercresses or sham-rocks there they flocked to a feast for the time; that in short space of time there were almost no people left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddainely left voide of man and beaste."

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Essex, writing to Elizabeth in his usual crafty vein, asked whether she chose to "suffer this people to inhabit here for their rent or extirpate them." Doubtless the queen ordered the latter course, and in the campaign of extermination there occurred certain treacheries that even to this day make "English faith" a byword and a hissing in Ireland. The "banquet of Mullaghmast," to which 400 Irish leaders were bidden to attend on pain of having refusal considered as a "lack of amity," turned into a butchery, only one guest escaping with his life. Essex himself, as told by Lecky, accepted the hospitality of Sir Brian O'Neil, and after a banquet, when the Irish chief had retired unsuspectingly to rest, the English general surrounded the house with soldiers, captured his host, with his wife and brother, sent them to Dublin for execution, and massacred the whole body of his friends and retainers.

Yet in 1594 the Ulster Irish rose again under Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell. Had stage and audience been larger, these two leaders would stand in history along with Hannibal. Uniting their people and driving their armies forward with a skill that rose at times to military genius, these indomitable

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men beat back the strength of England for ten terrible years. The great victory of the Yellow Ford destroyed one army, and in 1599 a new and larger force was shattered and dispersed.

Lord Mountjoy, chosen by Elizabeth to succeed the ill-fated Earl of Essex, found himself master of only a few miles around Dublin, but new thousands were poured into Ireland, and under sheer weight of numbers the Irish were forced to give ground in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. By the middle of 1601 O'Neill and O'Donnell faced defeat, but at this moment came the long-expected aid from Spain. A small fleet, bearing 3,400 troops, entered the harbor of Kinsale and took possession of the town. The English forces, 12,000 strong, gathered for attack, but down from Ulster swept O'Donnell and O'Neill, hemming in the besiegers with a wall of spears.

Victory was certain with patience, for famine and disease were wasting the English, but the impetuous O'Donnell insisted upon an attack. Through treachery, the English were given information of the Irish plans, the Spanish did not co-operate, a terrible storm separated O'Neill and O'Donnell, and the

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battle was lost. The Spanish commander, broken-spirited, basely concluded a surrender that saved himself even while it sealed the fate of O'Neill's rebellion.

This did not mean, however, that resistance was ended. Victory had been too near for hope to die instantly, and under the banner of Donall O'Sullivan, the Lord of Beare and Bantry, various Irish chieftains still kept up the fight, giving exhibitions of courage that in English, French, or American history would have thrilled school-children of the world down through the centuries.

In the castle of Dunboy a garrison of 143 men held out for eighteen days against a force of 4,000 men supported by heavy artillery. Day after day they beat back attack; when the upper walls were demolished they retreated to the cellars, and in the last terrible grapple the wounded survivors crawled with torches to the powder-barrels that all might perish in one final explosion. Even Carew, the English commander, had admiration, if not mercy, reporting that "no one man escaped, but were either slain, executed, or buried in the ruins; and so obstinate and resolved a defense had not been seen within this kingdom."

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From Spain came the sad news of O'Donnell's death; Hugh O'Neill was fighting for his own life in the hills, and O'Sullivan Beare, leaving the glens of South Munster, resolved to join forces with the rebels of Ulster. In the dead of winter he set out at the head of 400 fighting men, carrying in his train 600 women and children, and for two weeks they froze and starved and fought, ever pushing forward indomitably, until at last, when they staggered across the threshold of the castle of the O'Ruarc's, just 35 scarcely human beings remained of the original 1,000.

The policy now adopted by the English was to destroy utterly everything that might sustain life, and in merciless succession the four provinces were laid waste systematically and completely. The few remaining Irish fled to the hills to save their children against the day when Ireland should rise again to expel the invaders, and the terror of the land may be gathered from these boasting reports sent to London by Lord Mountjoy:

We have seen no one man in all Tyrone of late, but dead carcasses merely hunger starved, of which we found divers as we passed. Between Tullaghoge and Toome (seventeen miles) there lay unburied



O'SULLIVAN
Earl of Bear and Bantry

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one thousand dead, and since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were about three thousand starved in Tyrone. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above the ground.

Followed James I in time, and with him came new and ever greater persecutions for the Irish. He revived the Act of Supremacy that excluded every Catholic from office and the practice of a profession, likewise the Act of Uniformity that ordered the arrest and fining of any Catholic absenting himself from Protestant worship on a Sunday. Yet another thing he did that was of even greater significance: in 1610 all the fertile land in six Ulster counties was confiscated to the crown and parceled out to English and Scotch Protestants, who might not even have Irish tenants. Crushed and broken at last, to all seeming, the wretched natives submitted to deportations, or else roamed the land, homeless and wretched, perishing by the thousands from cold and hunger.

As Macaulay admits: "Ireland was undisguisedly governed as a dependency won by the sword. Her rude national institutions

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had perished. The English colonists submitted to the dictation of the mother-country, without whose support they could not exist, and indemnified themselves by trampling on the people among whom they had settled. The parliaments which met at Dublin could pass no law which had not been previously approved by the English Privy Council. The authority of the English Legislature extended over Ireland. The executive administration was entrusted to men taken either from England or from the English Pale, and, in either case, regarded as foreigners, and even as enemies, by the Celtic population."

Yet there was that in the Irish soul that could not die. Misery might well have made them in love with death, but the voice of freedom called them back from the peace of the grave, and again, in 1641, rebellion was fanned to life by the tyrannies and ill faith of Charles I. This wretched man, dead to honor and deaf to all save his own selfish desires, entered into agreement with the Irish by which they were to pay him \$600,000 for certain laws that would end the persecution of Catholics and also guarantee Protestants against confiscation of their lands. Charles

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then raised the amount to \$1,200,000, collected it, and also gathered in an extra \$100,000 from the Catholics, after which he repudiated his pledge and not only launched a new campaign of bigotry, but ordered wholesale confiscations of property that expelled thousands of Protestant families.

Wretched, despairing, Ireland turned again to the sword as the only remaining means of redress, Roger O'Moore and Sir Phelim O'Neill sounding the call to battle. October 23d was the day set for a simultaneous uprising, and while a spy's warning saved Dublin Castle, the rebellion swept to success in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. The English, rallying quickly, adopted savage methods of resistance and reprisal, Clarendon, their own historian, making this admission: "About the beginning of November, (1641) the English and Scots forces in Cnockfergus murdered in one night all the inhabitants of the territory of the Island Gee, to the number of three thousand men, women, and children, all innocent persons, at a time when none of the Catholics in that country were in arms or rebellion. Note: that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland on either side."

This spirit communicated to the Irish;

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horror followed horror, and what commenced as a war degenerated into a series of disgraceful cruelties that shamed both sides equally. In July, 1642, however, the weak Sir Phelim gave way to Owen Roe O'Neill, nephew of the great Earl of Tyrone, who surrendered his brilliant career in Spain that he might strike a blow for Ireland. He brought discipline out of lawlessness, and furnished statesmanship as well as military genius, for it was under his direction that the factions united in the Federation of Kilkenny that gave the rebels a government. For eight years this superb captain led his people against the English, winning victory after victory, but in the very hour when freedom seemed to be won the wheel of fate whirled Ireland back to its old disaster. Charles was beheaded, and, despite the protests of Owen Roe, the Irish earned the anger and attention of Cromwell by committing themselves to the cause of Charles II.

To crush the Royalists it was now necessary to crush Ireland, and soon Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin with an army of 9,000 foot and 4,000 horse, trained and equipped. The death of O'Neill left the Irish without a real general, and defeat came quickly and

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terribly. Not as long as Ireland is Ireland will the memory of that invasion perish. As well ask Belgium to forget the Germans. Massacre piled on massacre, soldiers and civilians being butchered without distinction, and even when the horrors of Wexford and Drogheda, where Cromwell exterminated after offering quarter, had somewhat sated blood-lust, the policy, as given by Cromwell, was "when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, every tenth man of the soldiers was killed and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes" as slaves. Even children were not spared by reason of Cromwell's grim remark that "nits make lice."

For three years the slaughter waged, the exhausted Irish fighting hopelessly against overwhelming odds, and then reigned the quiet of the desert. Famine and pestilence followed, but even this was not vengeance enough, for in 1652 the English Parliament declared the whole of Ireland forfeit. A gigantic expropriation was ordered; barren tracts in Leinster were assigned to the Protestants and Presbyterians of Ulster, while the Catholic Irish were herded into the waste places of Connaught. Any found outside these pales after May 1, 1654, were to be shot

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down without question. It was said of Connaught in those days that there was "not wood enough to hang, water enough to drown, or earth enough to bury a man," yet even so, further prohibitions were added. None of the Catholic Irish banished to this desolate region might appear within two miles of the river or within four miles of the sea. Nor did slavery cease with Cromwell's rage, for as late as 1653 a Capt. John Vernon was taking contracts to supply the American colonies with "Irish wenches above twelve and under forty-five." Regular shipments were also continued to the Barbadoes, and the revolting traffic ceased only when it was discovered that the slave-dealers did not scruple to capture Englishwomen when an Irish supply was not available.

The old intent of the English was also apparent in new laws designed to guard their colonists against the insidious contaminations of the Gael. The Irish nobility were ordered to wear badges that indicated their nationality, while the peasants, under pain of being branded, were made to go about with a spot of black on the right cheek, so that Britons might be able to avoid them. The assimilative power of the Irish is again to

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be noted, for in forty years the children of Cromwell's troopers were as Gaelic as the native, many of them being unable to speak a word of English.

Well might Green, that gentle historian, exclaim that "no such doom had ever fallen on a nation in modern times as fell upon Ireland in its new settlement. Among the bitter memories which part Ireland from England the memory of the bloodshed and confiscation which the Puritans wrought remains the bitterest; and the worst curse an Irish peasant can hurl at his enemy is 'the curse of Cromwell.'"

The restoration of Charles II bettered conditions in small degree only. The Irish, allowed to come out of their coverts, were restored to their land in a small percentage of instances, but the treacherous Charles fell far short of justice. One of his first acts was to re-establish the Church of England, and, although Catholics and Presbyterians had aided alike in his restoration, the bigotry of the false Stuart now fell heavily upon both faiths. Catholic James II followed Charles, and his stupid tyrannies fanned the flame of England's Protestant prejudices. In 1688 William of Orange landed in Devon-

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shire to seize the English crown, and James took cowardly flight to France. England, sick of Stuarts, accepted the Dutch prince without opposition, but in Ireland the Earl of Tirconnell thought it tactical to declare for the exiled James.

Macaulay, in considering this phase of Irish history, is forced to pay tribute to the Irish Jacobite as contrasted with the English Royalist: "The fallen dynasty was nothing to him. He had been brought up to regard the foreign sovereigns of his native land with the feeling with which the Jew regarded Cæsar, with which the Scot regarded Edward the First, with which the Castilian regarded Joseph Bonaparte, with which the Pole regarded the Autocrat of the Russias. It was the boast of the high-born Milesian that, from the twelfth century to the seventeenth, every generation of his family had been in arms against the English crown. His remote ancestors had contended with Fitzstephen and De Burgh. His great-grandfather had cloven down the soldiers of Elizabeth in the battle of Blackwater. His grandfather had conspired with O'Donnell against James I. His father had fought under Sir Phelim O'Neill against Charles I.

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The confiscation of the family estate had been ratified by an Act of Charles II. No Puritan bore less affection to the House of Stuart than the O'Haras and MacMahons, on whose support the fortunes of that House now seemed to depend. The fixed purpose of those men was to break the foreign yoke, to exterminate the Saxon colony, to sweep away the Protestant Church, and to restore the soil to its ancient proprietors. To obtain these ends they would without the smallest scruples have risen up against James; and to obtain these ends they rose up for him. The Irish Jacobites, therefore, were not at all desirous that he should again reign at Whitehall; for they were perfectly aware that a Sovereign of Ireland, who was also a Sovereign of England, would not, and, even if he would, could not, long administer the government of the smaller and poorer kingdom in direct opposition to the feeling of the larger and richer. Their real wish was that the crowns might be completely separated, and that their island might, whether with James or without James they cared little, form a distinct state under the powerful protection of France." This after five hundred years of "English rule"!

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Tirconnell raised an army and by various initial successes induced James to come to Dublin. He brought with him some 400 French officers, but his chief asset was one Patrick Sarsfield, an Irishman well worthy to rank with O'Neill and O'Donnell. To Ireland came William himself in 1690, and the issue was decided on the banks of the Boyne near Drogheda. The Irish, numbering 26,000, were poorly equipped, with twelve field-guns as their only artillery, but crowning weakness of all was the leadership of the wretched James. Opposed to them was a veteran army of 40,000, half made up of Prussians, Brandenburgers, Danes, Swedes, and other hardy mercenaries, backed by fifty field-guns, and strengthened immeasurably by the superb leadership of William and the military genius of the Duke of Schönberg. After a day of furious fighting, fittingly marked at the end by the flight of James, the Irish confessed defeat, but made their escape in fairly good order.

"Change kings with us," cried Sarsfield, in answer to an English taunt, "and we will fight you again."

Sarsfield now came to the Irish command, and the first test of his mettle was given at

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Limerick, where he rallied his men after the Boyne. The French officers, looking at the crumbled walls, dissociated themselves absolutely from the siege, sneering that the English could "batter down the ramparts with roasted apples." Nevertheless, Sarsfield and his Irish, against odds, and even lacking ammunition and artillery, held the enemy at bay for three terrible weeks, and in the final assault administered so crushing a defeat to the besiegers that William retired and returned to England.

In May, 1691, James again reached out the hand of confusion from his safe retreat in France, sending Lieut.-Gen. St. Ruth to take command of the Irish army. Brave enough and an experienced soldier, St. Ruth's great weakness was an abnormal conceit that made him impatient of advice and especially jealous of Sarsfield. He lost the battle of Athlone in the very hour that he was bump-tiously celebrating victory, and the defeat at Aughrim was equally due to his arrogant refusal to tell his officers of the battle plan. A cannon-ball took off his head at a critical point in the fighting, and the Irish, utterly without leadership, fell into confusion and final rout.

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Again Sarsfield was called to captain the disorganized forces, again he chose Limerick as his citadel, and again the Dutch General Ginkle attacked with Brandenburgers, Dutch Blue Guards, French Huguenots, and trained English veterans. After five weeks, when the siege was a deadlock, Ginkle, under orders from King William, proposed a fair peace. Sarsfield, at the end of his resources, and believing no longer in the promise of aid from France, agreed to a truce, and on October 3d a formal treaty was signed. The ink was barely dry when a French fleet sailed up the Shannon, but Sarsfield, having pledged his word, refused to receive the aid that would have meant victory. His honor and high faith, unfortunately, met only with English dishonor and ill faith.

The terms secured by Sarsfield were fair, guaranteeing religious liberty and explicitly pledging that only the usual oath of allegiance should be asked of Catholics. Not only were these solemn pledges of the crown violated in every particular, but William, following in the footsteps of James and Cromwell, entered upon a campaign of confiscation. In all, William forfeited 1,700,000



PATRICK SARSFIELD
Earl of Lucan

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acres. While Ginkle, his Dutch general, was given a handsome grant, the land for the most part was distributed among the king's personal friends, his mistress receiving a great tract of 94,000 acres, the rentals of which amounted to £24,000 a year. A vast hegira commenced. Sarsfield, with 10,000 of his men, entered the service of France, won the baton of a field-marshal, and, dying gloriously in an hour of victory, bewailed his ebbing blood in these tragic words: "Oh, that this was for Ireland!"

An Irish Parliament met in Dublin on October 5, 1692, an English Protestant body that straightway and formally repudiated every covenant of the treaty made by Ginkle and ratified by King William. While the Catholics constituted four-fifths of the population, all power was given to the Protestant minority, and laws were framed that closed Catholic schools and churches, robbed Catholics of land and civil rights, and doomed thousands to hiding or exile. The Protestants and Presbyterians of Ireland, while exempted from religious persecution, were crushed industrially when the English Parliament passed laws forbidding Irish trade

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with the colonies, cutting off the export of live-stock and dairy products to England, and following quickly with the absolute destruction of the wool trade.

Then good Queen Anne applied the Schism Act of Ireland, forbidding any person to teach school without license from a Protestant bishop after submission to a sacramental test, and Hanoverian George not only whipped this law against the Ulster Presbyterians, but also supplied the Test Act to them as well. Thousands were discharged from office and deported, their schools were closed, their marriages declared void, and Catholic and Protestant alike groaned under English enmity that fell like a shroud on the people and industries of Ireland. Famine and pestilence came to make poverty and idleness more horrible, and forth from the land of their fathers poured a stream of Irish immigration that has enriched almost every civilized country on the globe. In the fifty years that followed the broken Treaty of Limerick, 450,000 Irishmen followed the example of Sarsfield, entering European service; others poured into America, a reviving flood, 12,000 a year from Ulster alone, and in the hour

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of American rebellion 38 per cent. of Washington's army was Irish.

In Ireland, drained of its best, there was, to use the words of Green, "the silence of death," the "peace of despair," the Irish victims of the "most terrible legal tyranny under which a people ever groaned."

Chapter IV

Two Centuries of Irish Rebellion

THE Treaty of Limerick may be said to mark the end of Ireland's military resistance to English conquest. For full five centuries the island had pitted itself against the overwhelming resources of England in war after war, and defeat, exile, and famine joined at last to rob the Irish of strength to continue the struggle on any open field of battle. Yet there was no surrender of the spirit, no formal submission, no pledge of loyalty, and the period between 1691 and 1916 is one long record of protest, agitation, and insurrection against English rule; one continuous chronicle of Irish insistence upon their right to freedom. In 1698 we find William Molyneux, himself an English colonist, crying out against British tyranny as bitterly as any Gael, and writing a pamphlet in support of Irish independence that later served James Otis in his statement of the

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American case. Macaulay, in considering the claims advanced by Molyneux, makes it crystal-clear that Ireland was not a conquered country, but a captured province held only by sheer force of arms. As the great historian saw it, the question was entirely between England and the English colonists in Ireland, since "the aboriginal inhabitants—more than five-sixths of the public—had no more interest in the matter than the swine or poultry." The protest of Molyneux was set down as stupid and ungrateful, for "no colony stood in such need of the support of England"; many times "the intruders were in imminent danger of extermination"; and "it was owing to the exertions and sacrifices of the English people that . . . the Saxon settlers were trampling on the children of the soil." Had they been given the independence that they asked, sneered Macaulay, then Molyneux and his fellow-usurpers would have been expelled instantly by the Irish.

The evil conditions denounced by Molyneux remained unremedied, and in 1716 another Englishman, Archbishop King, the Anglican primate in Ireland, protested against a proposed revenue increase in these words: "Upon the whole I do not see how

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Ireland can on the present footing pay greater taxes than it does without starving the inhabitants and leaving them entirely without meat or clothes. They have already given their bread, their flesh, their butter, their shoes, their stockings, their beds, their furniture, and their houses to pay their landlords and taxes. I cannot see how any more can be got from them except we take away their potatoes and buttermilk, or slay them and sell their skins."

In 1720 the bitter pen of Dean Swift fired the Irish heart to its traditional revolt, slowly at first, for the nation was still weak from loss of blood, but faster as new generations came on. The attempt to inclose common land, high taxes, and exorbitant rents were among the incitements, but independence was soon the cry from Belfast to Cork, and, while there was no capacity for war, violence and bloodshed were almost daily occurrences in all four provinces. Famine scourged the land in 1726 and again in 1740, Lecky recording these instances of human agony as related by an eye-witness: "I have seen the laborer endeavoring to work at his spade, but fainting from want of food and forced to quit it. I have seen the

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aged father eating grass like a beast, and in the anguish of his soul wishing for his dissolution. I have seen the helpless orphan exposed on the dung-heap, and none to take him, for fear of infection, and I have seen the hungry infant sucking at the breast of the already expired parent."

Helpless, for the English army of occupation was always crouched to spring, the Irish were confined to sporadic uprisings until the American Revolution came with its message of courage and inspiration. The shot at Concord echoed nowhere more loudly than in Ireland, and when King George tried to draft 4,000 Irishmen for service against Washington, offering to send Hessians in return, the Red Hand of Ulster lifted again in one of its old fierce gestures. Ostensibly for the protection of the coast against the French, a volunteer force of 100,000 sprang into being, drawing in men from south and west, Catholics as well as Protestants, and it was this mailed hand that caught at the throat of Parliament.

"Talk not to me of peace," cried Hussey Burgh; "Ireland is not at peace; it is smothered war. England has sown laws as dragons' teeth; they have sprung up as armed men."

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Powerless before the open threat of armed force, Lord North lifted certain grievous restrictions from Irish commerce, and also abated many of the penal enactments that weighed heavily on Protestant and Catholic alike. Realizing that it was Ireland's hour, Grattan, then in the very flower of his virile genius, boldly launched the demand for Irish legislative independence. With Ireland in arms and the people aflame, England faced concession or revolution, and the right of the Parliament of Ireland to enact its own laws was granted!

In 1783 England, increasingly threatened by the Volunteers, went still farther, passing the Act of Renunciation, declaring that "Ireland's right to be bound only by laws made by the Irish Parliament was both established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

Then, as never before, the Irish had opportunity to win independence. England was at her weakest; the country had courage from America's success, the Volunteers numbered 500,000, and the action of the Protestants in demanding Catholic emancipation had brought about a wonderful unity and en-

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thusiasm. Grattan and Lord Charlemont, however, were in no sense revolutionists, and both felt complete satisfaction with the Act of Repeal; there was no O'Neill to lead, and so the opportunity went by.

As had been prophesied by the more far-seeing, it soon came to be seen that the new freedom was more illusory than real. As Green points out, "independence was a mere name for the uncontrolled rule of a few noble families and of the Irish Executive backed by the support of the English government. To such a length had the whole system of monopoly and patronage been carried that at the time of the Union more than sixty seats were in the hands of three families alone, those of the Hills, the Ponsonbys, and the Beresfords."

Of the 300 members of Parliament not more than 70 were returned by the free votes of the people; it was still the case that a Catholic could neither be a member nor vote for members, and by a system of pensions, gifts, and open cash bribes the English government had an absolute majority at all times.

Grattan saw parliamentary reform as a necessity, and in bitter terms he commenced

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exposure of the corruption that made the Irish body a mock. Another burning grievance was the law that compelled Catholics, Presbyterians, and even Anglican Protestants to pay tithes for the support of the clergy of the Established Church. As grazing-lands were exempt from taxation, the whole burden fell on the starving small farmer.

These demands meeting persistent rejection, the Volunteers advocated rebellion, and when the leaders continued to preach moderation and delay, the great organization disintegrated into secret groups committed to violence. Out of these scattered bands came the United Irishmen in 1791, under the leadership of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Arthur O'Connor, Protestants all, and Presbyterian in its essence, but with the broad platform of parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation.

Pitt, seeing the danger, planned a policy of conciliation, but yielded weakly enough when frowned down by the king, and parliamentary reform and religious liberty were both denied. Realizing that English bigotry made justice impossible, Pitt now resolved to end the farce of Irish independence. Doubtless he argued that an English Parlia-

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ment, with Irish representation, would be an improvement upon the corruptions of the Dublin body, but whatever his motive, his methods were damnable. England had declared the validity of the Irish Parliament "to be established and ascertained forever and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable," and to justify the repudiation of this solemn pledge, Pitt set out deliberately to provoke rebellion.

Earl Fitzwilliam, the wise and well-beloved, was recalled in favor of a hated bigot, the "Bloody Code" was enacted that turned Ireland into one vast prison, the lash and the "pitch cap" became familiar methods of torture, and, cruelest of all, the Society of Orangemen was formed, under governmental authority and subsidy, to revive religious hatreds. }

The United Irishmen now numbered 500,000, and, convinced that rebellion was the one course left open, an alliance was arranged with the French. A fleet of 43 war-ships, with 15,000 troops, sailed from Brest under General Hoche, but a great storm swept the seas and only 16 ships entered Bantry Bay; the vessel bearing General Hoche never arrived, and after a week of waiting the

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others sailed back to France. Pitt merely poured fresh soldiers by the thousands into Ireland, placed Ulster under martial law, and throughout 1797 continued his policy of wholesale arrest and brutal oppression.

In 1798, when the United Irishmen resolved to strike without waiting longer for French aid, agents were in the very inner circle of the revolutionists. On the eve of the uprising the majority of the leaders were arrested, Dublin was placed under martial law, and the British, hitting hard at various points, prevented united action. In spite of everything the people rose, and from May throughout the summer Ireland rang with the noise of bitter fighting. In the north, however, the battle of Ballynahinch proved a conclusive defeat, while in the south 20,000 English soldiers beat down the rebels in the final battle of Vinegar Hill.

In August a small French force landed in Mayo, but was forced to surrender, and some weeks later a French fleet, directed by Wolfe Tone, met the English in battle off Lough Swilly and lost the day. Tone, captured and condemned to death, despite his French uniform and rank as a French officer, was about to be saved by Curran's

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legal skill when the prison authorities announced the news of his "suicide." Over 70,000 lives were lost in the rebellion and whole counties were laid waste, but the defeat of the rebels did not bring an end to violence, for English yeomanry and militia marched up and down the land with torch and sword and lash, ravaging and ravishing. Lord Cornwallis, sent at this time to command in Ireland, doubtless because of his experience with American rebels, was shocked at the barbarities that came under his eye, and shut up the torture houses and forbade pitch-lined caps to be lighted on men's heads. As he records it himself, "On my arrival in this country I put a stop to the burning of houses and murder of the inhabitants by the yeomen, or any other person who delighted in that amusement; and to the flogging for the purpose of extorting confession; and to the free-quarters, which comprehend universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country." There remained the courts, however, and for months the gallows of Ireland creaked to the fall of bodies. Packed juries, prejudiced judges, informers, and even the methods of the Spanish Inquisition, raced arrested persons from the prisoner's dock to

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burial in quicklime, and soon the land was again "at peace."

With stage all set, Pitt now brought forward his Act of Union, supporting it by a campaign of corruption absolutely unparalleled. Over \$6,000,000 was spent in bribes alone. Thirty-two peers were promoted and twenty-eight new peers were created, while offices and pensions were scattered with a lavish hand. The people seethed, but new armies were poured into the country from England, and, sped forward by bribery, the bill was carried. The king gave royal assent and the Act of Union came into operation on January 1, 1801.

No English statesman or English writer has ever had courage to support Pitt's action or even to extenuate his methods. Fox characterized the Union as "atrocious in its principle and abominable in its means," and a "measure the most disgraceful to the government that was ever carried or proposed." Gladstone, in 1886, after full study of the whole affair, said, publicly, "I know no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union between England and Ireland."

Incredible as it may seem. resistance was

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still left in the land. The United Irishmen gathered again, the leaders sought the aid of Napoleon, and an insurrection was planned for August, 1803. The tragedy of blunders that seems to envelop every Irish revolutionary movement did not permit Robert Emmet to escape. An accidental explosion in one of his secret depots forced him to act in July without the full co-operation even of his Dublin forces, while the rebels in other cities and counties were in even more complete ignorance of the forced change in plans. The boy went to the gallows in September with the consciousness of failure bitter in his heart, but it remained for him, at least, to show the world how an Irishman could die.

Daniel O'Connell, rising to undisputed leadership in 1808, definitely decided upon two objectives at the very outset of his career—Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Act of Union. After a battle of twenty years, marked by an amazing and increasing unity in Ireland, Catholic emancipation became a law on April 15, 1829. Encouraged by this triumph, O'Connell devoted the next eleven years to constitutional agitation for repeal, but the English

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government stood like iron against further concession.

Now came new fighting and bloodshed with the "Tithes War" that started in 1830. Tithes, collected from Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist alike for the support of the clergy of the Established Church, had been hated always, but "tithe proctors" added the touch of unbearable bitterness. These men, hired to collect the tax, worked on a percentage basis, and it was therefore to their interest to make the tithes as large as possible. Their dishonesty, coupled with brutality, evoked resistance; military and the police were called out to support the proctors; the peasantry armed themselves, and for eight years there was daily fighting, with great loss of life. By 1833 the English army in Ireland was as large as that maintained in India, costing the Irish taxpayers \$5,000,000 to support, all in addition to a constabulary force that drained the island for a further \$1,500,000. Even putting these huge sums to one side, the court costs were such that every pound collected meant a loss of two pounds to the government. These conditions, and the sad fact that the English treasury was finally forced to grant

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allowances to the Protestant clergy, brought about reform at last, and the tithes, reduced by one-fourth, were put on the landlords.

In 1840 the first definite revolt took place against O'Connell's virtual kingship. The conviction had been growing that nothing could be won from England save by force of arms, and the Irish, recovered from the slaughter of 1798, and burning with the memory of Tone and Emmet, begged to be led against the Saxon. The answer of O'Connell cannot be viewed as anything but a compromise. He frowned down the proposal that the sword should be drawn, but consented to put aside his parliamentary activities in favor of a series of tremendous meetings at which he preached a virtual doctrine of rebellion.

Not in the history of the world is there a record of anything like these gatherings in point of size and massed emotion. At Tara, home of the Irish kings, 1,000,000 men, women, and children assembled on a Sunday, many walking for days that they might attend—dream-people pursuing their dream to the grave's edge and beyond if needs be. The climax came at Clontarf on October 8, 1843, when another million gathered, crying

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aloud, as they marched: "Give us the word, O'Connell! Give us the word!" At the very last moment the English government forbade the meeting, hurling an army into Clontarf to overawe or else to crush, and O'Connell made the decision that lost him loyalty, if not love. Shrinking from the slaughter that impended, he ordered his people to disperse. When it is borne in mind that the Irish were poorly armed, that the fighting men were surrounded by their families, and that any command to strike could have meant nothing but terrible and useless slaughter, how can O'Connell be blamed? There is that in the Irish, however, that holds contempt for caution. Other nations have their traditions of bravery, and history is thick with the record of races who have had no fear of death, but it is given to the Irish alone to take no thought of odds, to count hopelessness as encouraging as a fair field, and to stand ever ready to die gladly as a mere matter of protest.

Now a new torment broke on the land, for 1845 saw the failure of the potato crop and the coming of famine. In the three years that followed more than 1,500,000 men, women, and children died of starvation and

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fever. The horror of it all, as well as the cause of the bitterness that lives to this day, was that there was food in plenty, for in 1847 alone crops to the value of almost £45,000,000 sterling were grown in Ireland. These crops, owned by absentee landlords, were sent away to "better markets," and an irony of the tragedy was that relief-ships, bearing food from the United States to Ireland, passed other vessels carrying Irish food-stuffs to England, where people had money with which to meet the greed of the alien owners of Irish soil.

In words that stir and inflame even to-day, John Mitchel, whose grandson was to become the mayor of America's greatest city, painted the agony of Ireland in 1847:

Go where you would, in the heart of the town or in the suburb, there was the stillness and heavy, pall-like feel of the chamber of death. You stood in the presence of a dread, silent, vast dissolution. An unseen ruin was creeping round you. You saw no war of classes, no open janizary war of foreigners, no human agency of destruction. You could weep, but the rising curse died unspoken within your heart like a profanity. Human passion there was none, but inhuman and unearthly quiet. Children met you, toiling heavily on stone-heaps, but their burning eyes were senseless and their faces cramped and weazened like

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stunted old men. Gangs worked, but without a murmur or a whistle or a laugh, ghostly, like voiceless shadows to the eye. Even womanhood had ceased to be womanly. The birds of the air caroled no more, and the crow and the raven dropped dead upon the wing. Nay, the sky of heaven, the blue mountains, the still lake, stretching far away westward, looked not as their wont. Between them and you rose up a steaming agony, a film of suffering, impervious and dim. It seemed as if the *anima mundi*, the soul of the land, was faint and dying, and that the faintness and the death had crept into all things of heaven and earth.

A new movement arose—Young Ireland—and John Mitchel, Thomas Francis Meagher, and Smith O'Brien ascended to the throne of O'Connell. These words of Meagher strike the key-note of their policy: "The language of sedition is the language of freemen. There shall be no duplicity in this matter. I am guilty of an attempt to sow disaffection in the minds of the people. I am guilty of an attempt to overthrow this government, which keeps its footing on our soil by brute force and by nothing else."

The word went out to the people to arm themselves, and the making of pikes at once became the principal Irish industry. Mitchel was arrested and deported but Meagher and

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O'Brien swept the land like a flame. French aid was sought for the coming rebellion, but the prudent Lamartine, busy with his own uprising, checked the willingness of his fellow-revolutionists, and denied the request of Meagher.

The English government sent out an order to the people to give up their arms. Meagher ordered them to keep their arms. The issue was now drawn, and the leaders agreed that the uprising should start in Kilkenny. The day dawned, but when the sun went down another series of blunders was written into the Irish record instead of the victory that had been hoped. The English government had its paid spies, as usual, in the very heart of the movement. Dublin never received the orders of Meagher, the 1,000 men of Waterford were given counter-instructions, and the last chapter was written when all the leaders were arrested and deported.

Between 1848 and 1855, 2,000,000 people left Ireland to find homes in other lands, the bulk of them coming to the United States. Bitter law followed bitter law, and in 1858 James Stephens first sounded the call for the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a movement dedicated to physical force. Meagher and

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Mitchel were now in America, after a dramatic escape from Van Diemen's Land, the latter wielding his brilliant pen and Meagher rising to heights of popularity through heroic leadership of the Irish Brigade in the Civil War.

It was in America that the Fenians formed in 1861, and the spirit of this organization, marching to Ireland with men and dollars, joined hands with the Brotherhood and planned the rising of 1867. The people were armed, they had the leadership of officers trained in our Civil War, and there was a period when it seemed that the revolt had a chance for success. Again, however, the English spy and the informer were in the inner circles, treachery resulted in the arrest of all the leaders, and the most terrible storm in the history of Ireland broke the force of the uprising as effectively as British arms. From 1870 to 1916, first under the leadership of Isaac Butt, then Parnell, then Redmond, the fight of Ireland for independence was the fight in the English Parliament for Home Rule, with the Clan-na-Gael persisting only as a protest.

Michael Davitt's Land League, formed to resist the merciless evictions that made Ire-

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land a hell, had the promise of rebellion. Without right to any fixity of tenure, the Irish tenant was at the mercy of the alien landlord. If industrious enough to improve the land by his toil, his rent was raised to keep pace with the improvement. It was more often the case, however, that the landlords, seeing larger profit in grazing, deliberately dispossessed the tenant in order to consolidate holdings and turn tilled fields into pastures. As the consequence, the Irish farmers were forced to plow the barren hillsides, while down in the fertile valleys below grazed cattle and sheep fattening for the English market. Between the years 1859 and 1882, inclusive, the official records show that 98,723 families were evicted summarily, a total of 504,747 men, women, and children driven shelterless to starve and die on field or mountain-side. The Coercion bill of 1881, by which the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to arrest and imprison any on suspicion, and to hold them without trial or right of counsel, had no power to break the movement, but Parnell's iron will absorbed the Land League and eventually made it part of his parliamentary program.

It is in 1916 that we return again to the

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Irish tradition, the ancient faith that Ireland's freedom can only be won with Irish blood, either shed in battle with victory as the wild hope, or in martyrdom to shock the world into attention and some sympathy. For months before Dublin's tragic Easter Monday, rebellion had been brewing. The English government's surrender of Home Rule to Ulster's threat of armed rebellion; wholesale arrests under the Defense of the Realm Act; the suppression of free speech and free press—all joined to arouse the Irish. It is known now that on May 15, 1915, when Asquith formed his anti-Home Rule Coalition Cabinet, making Sir Edward Carson England's Attorney-General, only Professor MacNeill's deciding vote kept the Irish Volunteers from rising.

Continued arrests and deportations, the threat of conscription, and the authoritative report that the government planned to disarm the Volunteers, drove forward to the spring of 1916. Easter Sunday, April 23d, was the day set for the rebellion, but, as always in the past, plans went awry, and the old tragedy of blunders, cross-purposes, and counter-orders was played out to the bitter end.

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Two days before the time set, a German submarine landed Sir Roger Casement on the Irish shore near Tralee. He could not reach Dublin himself, but messengers carried to Eoin MacNeill, then commander of the Volunteers, an imperative plea that the insurrection be postponed. Casement knew nothing of the plans of the Irish leaders, and went upon the assumption that rebellion was dependent upon German aid, whereas Connolly and Pearse were looking to Ireland alone for strength and success. MacNeill, however, an academic type, fell in readily enough with the suggestion of postponement, and all Saturday and far into the night he sped men north and south to tell the people to return to their homes and wait for another day. MacNeill's order, astounding and disappointing, was nevertheless obeyed, and Sunday's mobilization scattered far and wide.

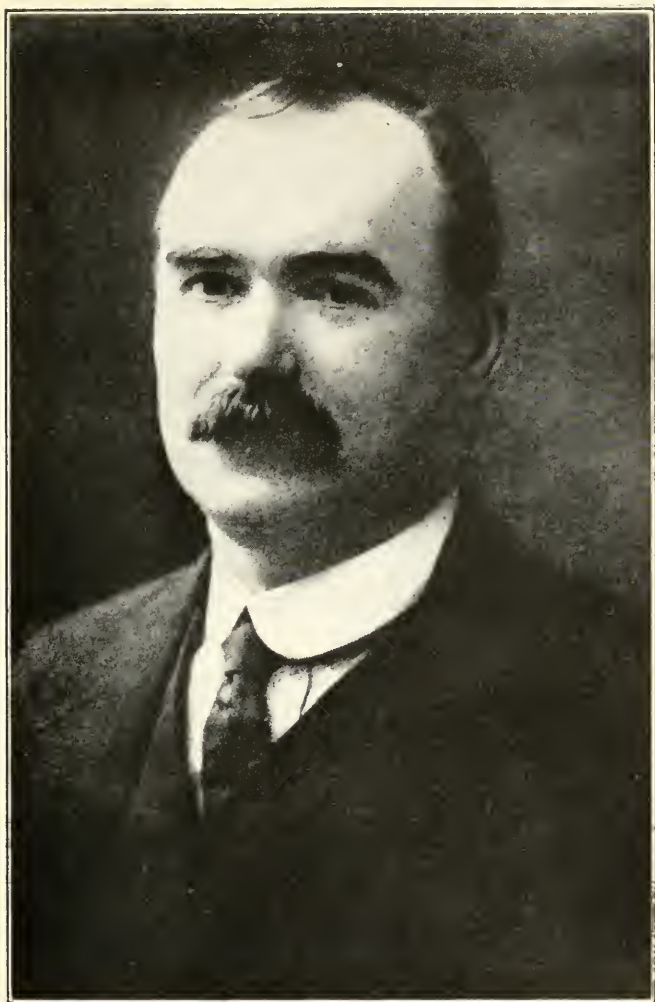
The Dublin leaders, however, Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, MacDonagh, MacDermott, and Joseph Plunkett, were "throw-backs" to Tone and Emmet, and the men they led had in their souls the traditions of O'Sullivan Beare and Sarsfield. Having placed their feet on the heights of resolve, they refused to descend. Unable to undo MacNeill's blun-

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der, fully realizing that the fatal order robbed them of all hope of assistance, the little group took the vow of death and marched forth on Easter Monday to pit their courage against the might of England.

A first act was to proclaim the Irish Republic with this provisional government: Padraic Pearse, president; James Connolly, commanding general, and Thomas J. Clarke, Thomas MacDonagh, J. B. Plunkett, Sean MacDiarmid and Eamonn Ceannt. The revolutionaries seized St. Stephen's Green, the post-office, several factories, a college building, and also launched an unsuccessful attack against the castle. Never at any time did the rebel forces number over 1,000, and yet for seven days and seven nights this scattered band held out against an army of 40,000 trained soldiers, supported by artillery and aided by bombardment from a gunboat in the river.

Flame and fire turned Dublin into a hell, nor did non-combatants escape the passions of the moment. Sheehy-Skeffington, a pacifist and only on the streets in the interests of order, was arrested one day and killed the next. Captain Bowen-Colthurst, responsible for this murder shot down other peaceful



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citizens with his revolver as he walked, and had his riflemen riddle houses where women were putting their children to bed. A later court of inquiry, it may be mentioned, found him guilty, but adjudged him insane, and after a period of confinement he was quietly released. Such occurrences as these, and the added fact that Dublin was under constant shell-fire, with whole blocks burning, moved Pearse where force had failed, and his surrender was made "to prevent the further slaughter of unarmed people."

The cost of the rebellion was millions in money, 304 lives, 1,002 wounded, 1,000 prisoners either executed or deported, and most terrible of all, a new flame to ancient hate.

So ends the story of English invasion and Irish rebellion! For five centuries one continuous chronicle of war—daily, terrible, implacable, from 1700 to 1800 a steady record of protest, disorder, and violence, culminating in the bloody uprising of 1798; in the last one hundred years one hundred Coercion Acts, suspensions of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and resorts to martial law, punctuated by the revolts of 1803, 1848, 1867, and 1916.

Why? The question cries from every page

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of Irish history. War is understandable, but not the savageries of extirpation; harshness is a commonplace in the records of successful invasion; countries have been reduced to powerlessness before, particularly by England, but nowhere is there parallel for the systematization of cruelty that has marked English rule in Ireland. Hallam gives this answer:

Either herself or in the persons of her representatives, England exploited Ireland as a dependency, a conquered country, from which nothing could be feared, from which nothing could be hoped; a country that was done for, that could never revive, and towards which the best policy to pursue was to draw from it as large a tribute as possible, of men for the army, and of money for the Empire. Thus, when all is said, the Irish policy of England may, perhaps, be found to be inspired not so much by hatred or vindictiveness as by selfish indifference, narrowness of view, and imperfect understanding. But is this the whole explanation? Can we not push the matter a stage further? When we look at the sequence of events since the Great Famine; when we recognize that England has always shrunk from taking any definite or decisive step in Ireland, that she has toyed with problems without seriously seeking to solve them, that she has ever been satisfied to exploit the sister island intellectually and economically—can we not go on to say that at bottom the English (Gladstone and his followers

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always excepted) have been influenced by the idea of merely marking time till the sorely stricken nation might sink into dissolution; that they are waiting till, when Ireland is drained of her ancient inhabitants—some lost by emigration, others by Anglicization—the Irish question will, in measurable time, disappear of its own accord?

One shrinks from the acceptance of this explanation, for while there has always been “money in it” for England, what with heavy taxation and laws compelling Irish purchase of English manufactures; while the Tory party is dependent upon the “Irish question” for existence, and while English rule in Ireland provides places for some 100,000 officeholders, common respect for the decencies of human nature rejects these sordid considerations as the motive behind England’s Irish policy. Herbert Spencer, perhaps, gives a better, fairer answer in this quotation from his *Study of Sociology*:

When antagonism has bred hatred towards another nation, and has consequently bred a desire to justify the hatred by ascribing hateful characters to members of that nation, it invariably happens that the political arrangements under which they live, the religion they profess, and the habits peculiar to them, become associated in thought with these hateful characters;

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become themselves hateful, and cannot, therefore, have their natures studied with the calmness required by science.

In the beginning the English hated the Irish for their stubborn refusal to accept defeat; out of this hatred, and the added desire to break down the resistance of Ireland, abominable courses of conduct were adopted: their own sense of shame, as well as fear of the world's opinion, impelled the English to adopt a policy of slander, the "ascription of hateful characters," in order to justify themselves to their own souls as well as to onlooking nations; in time they came to believe their own slanders, and out of the belief came new cruelties—a circle of viciousness complete in every detail. If they treated the Irish savagely, it was because the Irish were "savages"; if they murdered the Irish, it was because the Irish were "murderers"; if they robbed the Irish, it was because the Irish were "robbers." This habit of thought, cultivated for seven centuries, has burned into the subconsciousness of the British. Even Macaulay, with his clear mind, was so influenced by traditional prejudice as to write that "there could not be equality between men who lived in houses

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and men who lived in sties, between men who are fed on bread and men who are fed on potatoes." It did not occur to him that the Irish lived in sties because they were not allowed to own land or to build houses, and that they ate potatoes because nothing else could be grown on the barren hillsides to which the English invaders banished them. He forgot, or chose to forget, that not until 1771 was the rare concession made that allowed Catholics to take a long lease on fifty acres of bog. If it were too deep or marshy to build on, permission was granted to have half an acre of solid land on which to build a home, but with the proviso that the bog should be at least four feet deep and that it should not be nearer than a mile to any market town.

Sydney Smith, remarkable for insight as well as courage, saw to the heart of the English policy, and scourged his fellow-Britons with the bitter words:

Before you refer the turbulence of the Irish to incurable defects in their character, tell me if you have treated them as friends and as equals. Have you protected their commerce? Have you respected their religion? Have you been as anxious for their freedom as your own? Nothing of all this. What then?

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Why, you have confiscated the territorial surface of the country twice over; you have massacred and exported her inhabitants; you have deprived four-fifths of them of every civil privilege; you have made her commerce and manufactures slavishly subordinate to your own. And yet, you say, the hatred which the Irish bear you is the result of an original turbulence of character, and of a primitive, obdurate wildness, utterly incapable of civilization. . . . When I hear any man talk of an unalterable law, the only effect it produces upon me is to convince me that he is an unalterable fool.

This policy of cruelty and oppression, however, is no longer "British" in the sense that it expresses the attitude of the people of the British Empire. Just as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and every other colony has declared in favor of Home Rule for Ireland, so does the great body of Englishmen stand willing to redress Irish wrongs. The House of Commons, representing the English people, voted for Home Rule in Gladstone's day, and again in 1912, 1913, and 1914 in the face of Ulster's threats, as plain a manifestation of popular will as could have been recorded.

It is the Tory party that carried on the tradition of hatred, the ancient policy of force and rapacity; it is the House of Lords,

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the "ruling class," that stands between Ireland and justice, just as it stands between the great masses and every social reform prompted by progress. It is this truth that is being realized by English labor, and it is in the full realization, with its inevitable consequences, that the Irish question will find its just answer.



Chapter V

The "Ulster Problem"

IT has been seen that Ulster stood in 1914 as England's excuse for the repudiation of its Home Rule agreement. Ulster stands to-day as England's only avowed reason for refusing to grant Ireland any measure of self-government. Ulster "prefers death" to Home Rule, and England cannot find it in her heart to "coerce" the loyal subjects that cling to the Crown with such sublime devotion.

With the British government as an interpreting voice, the world knows little enough of Irish history as a whole, while as for Irish internal affairs, ignorance is so profound as to be almost solemn. The average American, for instance, has a general impression that Ulster is at least half of Ireland; that it is settled solidly by Scotch Presbyterians, worthy people, even if somewhat inclined to take life gloomily; that it is a unit against

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Home Rule; and, even when sympathetic with the Irish cause, he is apt to feel that Ulster presents a "very serious problem." This is the view that England desires the world to take, and it has diffused this point of view very carefully and cleverly by written and spoken word until it has taken hold of the subconscious thought of the great majority of people. What, then, are the facts? The Ulster claim to special and preferred treatment, as set forth by its leaders and assented to by the British government, may be fairly summarized as follows:

(1) Ulster is a homogeneous Unionist and Protestant community.

(2) Ulster has all the wealth and industry of Ireland, and Home Rule would merely place thrift and enterprise at the mercy of ignorance and improvidence.

(3) The prosperity of Ulster is due entirely to English rule, and, rather than be divorced from this beneficent sovereignty, Ulster will fight to the death.

(4) Home Rule would subject this Protestant minority to the despotism of Rome and the bigotries of the Roman Catholic majority.

Ulster is one of the four provinces of Ireland and contains nine counties. The other

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three provinces—Leinster, Munster, and Connaught—have twenty-three counties. The population of Ulster is 1,581,696; that of Ireland as a whole is 4,375,554. It is admittedly the case, therefore, that the few are blocking the will of the many; it is this stubborn resistance of a minority that goes out to the world as evidence of "Irish inability to agree." Acceptance of any such doctrine would have prevented the formation of the United States of America; if accepted to-day in the case of new nations there will be no Czecho-Slovakia, no Poland, no Jugo-Slavic state, and Alsace-Lorraine must be broken into French pieces and German bits, for in all are bitter minorities of no small size.

Also, viewed obviously, there is amazement, to say the least, in the fact that none of those most prominent in the "Ulster rebellion" has any real connection with Ulster by birth or residence. Sir Edward Carson did not even represent an Ulster constituency until put up for a Belfast seat in December, 1918; Sir Frederick E. Smith, the "Galloper of Ulster," is an English lawyer; Bonar Law is a Scotch-Canadian; General Richardson and General Wilson, who organized and drilled the Ulster rebels, are



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SIR EDWARD CARSON REVIEWING THE ULSTER REBELS, AT HIS SIDE STAND GENERAL RICHARDSON AND
COL. HACKETT PAIN, HIS ENGLISH DEPT. MASTERS

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Englishmen; Walter Long has no Ulster connection, and Mr. Balfour, Lord Cecil, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, and scores of other "Ulster leaders" are English through and through.

Since Ulster, however, is set out as distinctive, isolated, and peculiar, fairness demands that general consideration be put aside in favor of an analysis of the clauses of its case. First, as to the claim that Ulster is a "homogeneous Unionist and Protestant community" unanimously hostile to any scheme of Irish self-government.

In December, 1918, an English general election was held, and while the Unionists in Ireland banked a solid front in support of unchanged and unchanging British rule, the opposition split into two camps. The Nationalists went before the people with their usual and traditional demand for Home Rule. Sinn Fein declared that forty years of futile begging showed the folly of parliamentary methods; announced that their candidates, if elected, would assemble in Dublin, *not* London, and asked votes on the bold platform of an Irish republic. An analysis of the returns shows these results.

Leinster, Munster, and Connaught went

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almost as a unit for Sinn Fein. The Nationalists were annihilated, and the Unionists, frankly confessing an overwhelming majority that made contests farcical, did not put up a single candidate in twenty-two counties. In Dublin County, out of four seats, they captured one in a carefully gerrymandered district, the only Unionist fight and the only Unionist victory in the twenty-three counties outside of Ulster. This result should resolve any doubt as to where three Irish provinces, at least, stand with respect to British rule.

A study of the Ulster vote reveals that the Unionists did not contest in Cavan, the Sinn Fein taking both seats without a struggle.

In Donegal, with four seats, the Unionists contested only one, losing handily to a Nationalist. The Unionist vote for the county, therefore, was 4,797 against a Sinn Fein-Nationalist total of 39,041.

In Monaghan, with two seats, the Unionists attempted one contest only, losing badly, and Sinn Fein swept the county. The total vote: Unionist, 4,497; Sinn Fein-Nationalist, 21,479.

This showing—and there has never been any other election result for forty years—lifts Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal out of

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"rebel Ulster" instantly and authoritatively, leaving only six counties to be considered.

In Tyrone the Nationalists captured East by 11,661 against 6,681; in West Tyrone Sinn Fein won by 10,442 against 7,696, and in South the Unionists won by 10,616 against a combined Sinn Fein and Nationalist vote of 8,039. Two seats out of three for Home Rule and an Irish vote of 30,086 against 24,993 Unionist votes.

Fermanagh went fifty-fifty, Unionists and Sinn Fein each capturing one seat, but the Home Rule vote was 12,909 against 11,292 for the Unionists.

By the law of majorities, Tyrone and Fermanagh are also lifted out of "rebel Ulster" along with Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan, leaving only four counties to be considered.

In Antrim the Unionists swept all before them, winning four seats with a total vote of 48,808 against 8,643 for Sinn Fein. In Down the Unionists gained four seats and the Nationalists one, the total being 41,987 to 21,969.

In Armagh the Unionists captured two seats with a total vote of 18,670 against 12,962.

Also in Derry, two seats going to the Unionists with 19,472 votes against 11,357. The city of Derry, however, always a Union-

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ist stronghold, and the "Protestant heart of Protestant Ulster," was won by Sinn Fein, the vote being 7,455 to 7,020.

In Belfast the Unionists won eight seats and the Nationalists one, the Unionist vote being 79,377 against 39,947 for the opposition.

So much for the claim of the "solid Unionist Ulster" for which Carson and Mr. Balfour passionately demanded a "clean-cut separation." Three counties overwhelmingly anti-Unionist and two counties giving substantial majorities against English rule, leaving four counties only for the Unionists, and even heavy opposition votes in them.

The following figures show the anti-English, pro-Ireland percentages in the nine Ulster counties and the two cities:

Cavan.....	100
Donegal.....	89
Monaghan.....	83
Fermanagh.....	53
Tyrone.....	54
Antrim.....	15
Derry.....	36
Armagh.....	41
Down.....	34
Belfast.....	48
Derry City.....	51



MAP OF IRELAND SHOWING PRESENT POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

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The following official religious census also has direct bearing upon the claim that Ulster is solidly Protestant, and that by "Protestant" is meant Scotch Presbyterian:

County	Catholic	Protestant	Presbyterian	Methodist
Antrim.....	118,449	128,552	188,018	20,377
Armagh.....	54,147	38,867	18,962	5,010
Cavan.....	74,188	12,954	2,920	768
Donegal.....	132,943	17,975	15,064	1,697
Down	78,946	78,695	116,971	11,497
Fermanagh....	34,749	21,121	1,265	3,995
Londonderry...	64,436	27,080	43,191	1,939
Monaghan.....	53,341	8,644	8,635	389
Tyrone.....	78,935	32,283	26,540	2,818
Total.....	690,134	366,171	421,566	48,490

Passing to the second assertion, that Ulster has all the "wealth and enterprise," and therefore objects to the domination of poverty and idleness, the answers to this are matters of official record:

On the face of the tax returns Dublin's gross annual value of property exceeds £11,000,000, while that of Belfast is less than £6,400,000. Dublin pays an income tax of £360,000, which is more than £150,000 above that of Belfast.

The governmental ratable value of Ulster is only 72 shillings; that of Leinster is 98 shillings. The Ulster rate, while in truth a pound higher than that of Connaught, is

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only a fraction above that of Munster. So Ulster, instead of being the richest province, is, in reality, a poor second, with Munster only a breath behind.

Now for the third claim, that Ulster, out of its ancient love for England, will fight rather than submit to separation from the prosperity and justice that have been part and parcel of British rule. This devotion, when subjected to study, appears to be more oratorical than actual, more in evidence on the hustings than in the emigration statistics. The population of Ulster has fallen over one-third in the last fifty years, and even as late as 1914 more people emigrated from Ulster than any other Irish province. Between 1861 and 1910, "loyal subjects" to the number of 807,567 conquered their passion for English rule sufficiently to enable them to leave Ulster for homes in other countries, the majority coming to democratic America. It also stands proved that while Sir Edward Carson declared in 1914 that he had 447,204 signatures to the Ulster Covenant—"loyal subjects" ready to kill and be killed in defense of British rule—only 10,000 Protestant soldiers volunteered from Ulster in the first six months of a war that meant England's

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life or death, and by 1916 the number had only increased to 40,000.

The most suspicious feature of the devotion, however, is its newness and the fact that it has no historical background. More than any other province in Ireland, Ulster has hated English sovereignty, and revolted against it, until there is not an inch of its soil that is not red with the blood of rebels. Time and again the altar-fires of Irish freedom would have turned into cold ashes but for the indomitable Ulster spirit, carrying on always against invasion and oppression.

Godfrey O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, led his saffron-shirted kerns against the mailed warriors of Maurice Fitzgerald, the Norman; Shane O'Neill, King of Ulster, beat back every English force from 1551 to his death in 1567; Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Hugh O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, came near to expelling the English between 1595 and 1603; Owen Roe O'Neill, nephew of the great Hugh, led Ulster to rebellion again in 1641, and for seven years successfully pitted his genius and the courage of the Irish against English might. Even after the two ruthless settlements by James I and Cromwell, the Irish being killed, sold into

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slavery, or driven into hiding, and their land given to Scotch and English colonists, the "red hand of Ulster" lifted time and again in stark rebellion. In 1698 we find William Molyneux demanding Irish independence and bitterly arraiguing English rule for its tyrannies and brutal destruction of Irish industry, his book not only being censured by the House of Commons, but burned by the common hangman as well.

Location of the reason affords few difficulties. In the first place, the assimilative power of the Celt is without parallel. Even as the Danes and Normans were "Irishized," so were English and Scotch absorbed. In the second place, the colonist soon found that England's oppressions did not press upon the Irish alone, but weighed on all Ireland, alien as well as native. The Test Act and the Schism Act were enforced against Presbyterians and all other Nonconformists, and in addition, as Green asserts, laws were made "to annihilate Irish commerce and to ruin Irish agriculture. Statutes passed by the jealousy of English landowners forbade the export of Irish cattle or sheep to English ports. The export of wool was forbidden, lest it might interfere with the profits of English

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wool-growers. Poverty was thus added to the curse of misgovernment, and poverty deepened with the rapid growth of the native population, till famine turned the country into a hell."

Belfast, heart of the wool industry and a city that should have been as dear to William as his crown, was struck desolate, 40,000 of its people being doomed to idleness almost in a day. The manufacture of beer, malt, gunpowder, hats, sail-cloth, and ironware was destroyed and a debased coinage drove all the silver out of the country. Ruined industries, religious persecution, exorbitant rents, cruel and oppressive laws, all joined to crush Ulster as well as Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and northern Irish, even more than the Catholics of the south and west, emigrated to America in search of freedom. Ulster men, fighting with Washington, were England's most implacable foes when the colonies rose at last against the tyrannies of George III.

It was Ulster that roused enthusiasm for the Revolution until Pitt openly admitted that Ireland was behind the American cause to a man. The Volunteers, a great force that wrung concession after concession from Eng-

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land, was an Ulster movement led by the Earl of Charlemont, an Ulster Protestant. The United Irishmen, formed by Wolfe Tone in 1791, was a "union of Irishmen of every religious persuasion, in order to obtain a complete reform of the legislature, founded on principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Tone himself was an Ulster Protestant; so were Lord Edward Fitzgerald, O'Connor, the Emmets, and Dickson. The movement started in Belfast, and its membership at the outset was almost exclusively Presbyterian. The revolution of the United Irishmen in 1798, that cost 70,000 lives, had separation from England as its object, and Ulster was the heart of the rebellion.

Again, in 1848 the "red hand of Ulster" waved its signal to Ireland. John Mitchel, an Ulster Protestant, by his advocacy of rebellion and total separation from England, brought about the uprising that was put down in blood. John Philpott Curran was an Ulster man, and Isaac Butt, father of the Home Rule movement, was a descendant of a Cromwellian soldier. At every point in history Ulster stands as the vital force of Irish rebellion, the most implacable in its

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hatred of English rule and in its demand for separation and Irish independence.

As for the fourth and last claim, that English rule alone saves Protestant Ulster from Catholic bigotry and oppression, this claim carries with it the obvious implication that all Protestants are against Irish independence, and that between the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland stretches a traditional gulf that cannot be bridged. Even as the election returns, however, prove that Ulster is as much Catholic as Protestant, and more Nationalistic than Unionistic, so do facts of record destroy the religious bugbear. In the first place, the Home Rule bill that England repudiated, by reason of "Protestant Ulster's religious forebodings," contained this sweeping prohibition against bigotry and intolerance:

"In the exercise of their power to make laws under this act the Irish Parliament shall not make a law so as directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give a preference, privilege or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage, on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or make any religious

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belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at that school, or alter the constitution of any religious body," etc.

This clause alone stamps Ulster's "religious forebodings" as unadulterated buncombe. In the second place, while Ireland is notorious for its religious persecutions and sectarian intolerances, it is seldom indeed that a Catholic has been the persecutor and the bigot. From the days of Henry VII every Protestant ruler of England attempted to crush Irish Catholicism as well as Irish independence, and not even the savageries of earlier kings were more brutal than the legislative oppressions of "civilized" monarchs. To quote Green:

The history of Ireland during the fifty years that followed its conquest by William the Third is one which no Englishman can recall without shame. After the surrender of Limerick every Catholic Irishman, and there were five Irish Catholics to every Irish Protestant, was treated as a stranger and a foreigner in his own country. The House of Lords, the House of Commons, the magistracy, all corporate

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offices in town, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of government or justice, were closed against Catholics. The very right of voting for their representatives in Parliament was denied them. Few Catholic landowners had been left by the sweeping confiscations which had followed the successive revolts of the island, and oppressive laws turned the immense majority into hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Protestant masters

Catholic schoolmasters were outlawed and Catholic parents even forbidden to send their children to any foreign land to be educated; land owned by Catholics was confiscated; no Catholics were permitted to possess arms of any kind; parish priests were permitted to remain only on condition of registering and giving security for good behavior, and all others—bishops, monks, and friars—were banished and forbidden to return under penalty of death. Rewards were offered for their capture, and Catholics were required to pay these rewards; family discord was attempted by a law that the eldest son of a Catholic, by proclaiming himself a Protestant, could become the owner of his father's land; no Catholic could act as a guardian; no Catholic was permitted to purchase land,

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and if it could be proved that any Catholic tenant was making a profit above one-third of the rent a Protestant could take possession of the farm.

The Test Act decreed that no man could hold office, either civil or military, without taking oath that the Catholic religion was false and receiving the Sacrament on Sundays according to the rites of the Established Church. This was followed by the application to Ireland of the Schism Act, providing that no one could teach school unless licensed by a bishop of the Church of England. Bishops, clergy, and schoolmasters defied the laws that the altar-fires might not be extinguished, and the hold of the "*soggarth aroon*" upon the Irish people traces back to those dark days when priest and prelate alike led the lives of hunted animals rather than desert their flocks.

Even as Catholics were persecuted, so were their persecutors favored, for, in Macaulay's bitter phrase, the government set up "a vast hierarchy of Protestant archbishops, bishops, and rectors who did nothing, and who, for doing nothing, were paid out of the spoils of a Church loved and revered by the great body of the people." Ten Protestant prel-

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ates were once named to the House of Commons who had left fortunes averaging \$1,-250,000 apiece. As late as 1860 the bishops held 743,326 acres of Ireland. The governmental exaction of tithes amounted to about \$2,500,000 a year, with bishoprics yielding from \$12,000 to \$80,000 annually, and for 700,000 members of the state religion there were as many parochial clergymen as for the 4,500,000 Catholics.

What Ulster asks the world to believe is that Home Rule will witness the instant institution of Catholic reprisals in revenge for this record of crime and shame. Aside from the "religious liberty" clause in the Home Rule bill, however, there is ample reassurance in the character of the Irish Catholic. Lecky, Protestant and Unionist, but an honest historian, bears this testimony:

No feature in the social history of Ireland is more remarkable than the almost absolute security which the Protestant clergy, scattered thinly over wild Catholic districts, have usually enjoyed during the worst periods of organized crime and the very large measure of respect and popularity they have almost invariably commanded whenever they abstained from interfering with the religion of their neighbors. . . . Among the Catholics, at least, religious intolerance

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has not been a prevailing vice, and those who have studied closely the history and the character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion in every form which they have commonly evinced. . . . It is a memorable fact that not a single Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland during all the period of the Marian persecution in England. The treatment of Bedell during the savage outbreak of 1641, and the Act establishing liberty of conscience passed by the Irish Parliament of 1689 in the full flush of the brief Catholic ascendancy under James the Second, exhibit very remarkably this aspect of the Irish character.

There was, and is, however, a reason for this apart from any amiability of character; always and now the Irish Catholic realized that his sufferings did not proceed from the hatred of his Protestant brothers, but came direct from England as part of the English program of subjugation.

Protestants, too, saw this great truth, and both faiths, without hatred, stood shoulder to shoulder through the years in the fight for common independence and common religious liberties. Even as every great Irish revolution has had its origin in Ulster, so almost every great leader in the fight for Irish independence has been a Protestant! Molyneux, Grattan, Flood, Lucas, Dean Swift, Hussey

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Burgh, Wolfe Tone, Earl Charlemont, Lord Fitzgerald, Robert Emmet, Gavan Duffy, Lord Plunkett, Curran, John Mitchel, Thomas Davis, Smith O'Brien, John Martin, James Finton Lalor, Isaac Butt, Parnell—all Protestants, Daniel O'Connell and John Redmond standing out as the sole exceptions.

What Macaulay brands as "a series of barbarous laws against Popery that made the Statute Book of Ireland a proverb of infamy throughout Christendom" were fought almost entirely by Protestants, for the Catholics were forced to silence by law, cell, and gallows. As a matter of course, this generosity had its result in unity, and Irish history is thick with instances conclusive in their disproof that the "enmity" between Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic is hereditary and unchangeable.

The Ulster Volunteers, at the very outset, won partial liberty for the Presbyterians by the abolition of the Sacramental Test, and in 1782 they forced the removal of the last grievances of the Protestant dissenters. Had they been actuated only by sectarian resentments, the movement would have died straightway, and nothing so proves the Irish nationalist character of the Volunteers as the

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fact that they did not pause with the redress of their own wrongs, but pressed forward instantly and indomitably with demands for Catholic emancipation.

It is as inspiring as it is illuminating to contrast the action of the Ulster Volunteers in 1914 with the attitude of the Ulster Volunteers in 1782. In this latter year 242 delegates, representing the wealth and power of Protestant Ulster, assembled at Dungannon, and passed this resolution, among others:

As men and Irishmen, as Christians and Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

It was because of this purely Protestant action that those laws were repealed that forbade Catholic schoolmasters, outlawed bishops, and established Catholic pales. Catholics now joined the Volunteers, and it was this unity and this display of force that caused the English Parliament to pass the Act of Repeal that gave Ireland an independent Parliament. Let it be pointed out also that, even as there were Irish enthusiasm

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and Irish unity, so did bitterness against England change almost instantly into a willingness for friendship. Straightway, as an evidence of gratitude, the Irish Parliament voted 20,000 men and \$500,000 to the British navy.

In 1782 the Catholics of Dublin, daring to assemble for the first time, addressed a petition to the king, asking for admission to the rights of the constitution. As the committee passed through Belfast, the Presbyterians unhitched the horses from the carriage and drew the Catholics through the city, a Protestant population cheering to the very echo. The Presbyterian synod of Ulster also took formal action in support of the Catholic request, urging it as just and necessary. In the face of this unity, the penal laws against the Catholics were abated in some degree, but complete civil and religious liberty was denied with all the old arrogance. In attempting to win over King George, Pitt used an argument that is as applicable to-day as then: "The political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated," he wrote, "arising from the apprehension of a Popish Queen as successor, a disputed succession and a foreign pretender, a division in

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Europe between Catholic and Protestant Powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things." The king remained adamant, however, for, as Green says, "His bigotry was at one with the bigotry of his subjects," and Pitt surrendered.

Lord Fitzwilliam was English and a Protestant, but the Irish Catholics gave him love and admiration for his justice, and when Pitt recalled him the whole of Ireland went into mourning. All shops were closed, industry ceased for the day, and crêpe hung on every door to express a people's grief.

The United Irishmen, Protestant Wolfe Tone's Protestant organization, had "Catholic Emancipation" as one of its fundamental principles, and the 50,000 men struck down in the revolution of 1798 died for religious liberty as well as Irish freedom.

O'Connell, offered Catholic emancipation as a bribe for his support of the Act of Union, declared that he "would rather confide in the justice of my brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated me, than lay my country at the feet of foreigners."

Scores of similar instances can be cited to show the unity and fraternity that grew and flourished between Irish Protestant and Irish

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Catholic in the hundred years that intervened between the Treaty of Limerick and the formation of the Society of Orangemen in 1795. It was the organization of this body that marks the rise of religious factionalism in Ireland, not as a natural evolution in any degree, but purely as a product of Pitt's manufacture. He brought the Orangemen into being, paid them and protected them in their outrages, out of cold-blooded intent to break up the Irish unity that threatened to defeat his Act of Union. In proof of this, witness this naïve excerpt from historical records:

About the same time a number of delegates from the Orangemen met in the town of Armagh, and entered into resolutions, which they published: In these resolutions they recommended to the gentlemen of fortune to open a subscription, declaring, "*That the two guineas allowed them per man by Government was not sufficient to purchase clothes and accoutrements!*"

Leaders of Protestant and Catholic thought were never deceived nor demoralized, but the peasantry of both faiths, brutalized by ignorance and poverty, gave themselves over easily enough to Pitt's abominable plan. Nothing, in the last analysis, is more safe than the assertion that no honest person

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can study the history of Ireland without coming to the firm conviction that religious bigotry is not inherent, but entirely artificial, and that Catholics and Protestants will return to their old unity and amity when the disruptive influences of English politics are removed.

While in Ireland I gave particular study to this question of religious hatred, and from no man—Ulster, Nationalist, or Sinn Fein—did I receive any other answer than “Buncombe.” The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and other Protestant prelates bore testimony similar to that of Lecky, and even Ulster rebels privately and grinningly confided to me that their “religious forebodings” were entirely part of the “political game.”

As for the cry that “Home Rule means Rome Rule,” the facts are that Rome has almost unfailingly maintained an attitude of antagonism to Irish independence, or, to state the case more fairly, Rome, standing for “law and order,” has almost invariably discountenanced the rebellions that were necessarily the expression of Ireland’s passion for freedom. And never once has any attempt of Rome to interfere in Irish politics met with anything but bitter resistance from

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Catholic bishops, clergy, and laity. A Pope entered into secret agreement to give the English crown the right to veto appointments to the Irish episcopacy, but Daniel O'Connell thundered the answer for all his faith when he cried, "We take our religion from Rome but our politics from Ireland," and bishops and clergy joined with him to defeat the proposal.

When two Catholic curates started a fight for "fair rents, tenant right, and employment" the movement was crushed by Archbishop Cullen in 1855. In 1879 Rome tried to break up the Parnell meetings in favor of land reform, and in 1883 the full power of the Vatican was hurled against Parnell. The Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, writing to the Irish bishops, said, "It is lawful for the Irish to seek redress for their grievances and to strive for their rights, but always at the same time observing the divine maxim to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice and remembering also that it is wicked to further any cause, no matter how just, by illegal means." The point of the letter, however, was a direct order to the bishops to oppose the collection of a testimonial fund for Parnell. Catholic Ireland rose *en masse* in

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support of the Protestant leader with the cry, "Make Peter's pence into Parnell's pounds," and, as the result, £39,000 was raised instead of the £20,000 that had been asked.

In 1881, while 1,000 Irishmen were in prison without trial, Rome asked Ireland "to obey the laws," and in 1882 the bishops were ordered to crush the Ladies' Land League, for, with all the men in prison, the women had gathered to carry on the work. Cardinal Monaco, in a rescript, attacked boycotting as "contrary to Christian charity," and tried to destroy the whole Land League movement. Michael Davitt, a true Catholic, but also a true Irishman, has explained the attitude of Rome more clearly, perhaps, than any other:

The secret opposition of Rome to Home Rule is not at all appreciated in its right motives in popular British politics. The silly fiction about Home Rule meaning Rome Rule for Ireland has served a twofold anti-Irish purpose, and very effectively so far. It has inflamed extreme Protestant minds against the rational demands of the Irish people, while at the same time furthering the best interests of Vatican policy in securing the continued presence of some eighty Catholic members in the otherwise most exclusively Protestant Parliament in the world. It is known right well by English Catholics of the Duke of Norfolk

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order, and in Rome, too, that the transference of the Irish representation from Westminster to Ireland would mean the exclusion of almost all Catholic power and influence from the House of Commons. On the other hand, a National Assembly in Dublin would give prominence to the existence of a strong Protestant minority in what is believed in Europe to be an exclusively Catholic country.

Another and final point in the Ulster contention has to do with the racial stock of the population. The general impression sought to be conveyed is that the Ulster men are Scotch, not Irish. In earlier times this was largely true, but, under orders from Elizabeth, Shane O'Neill drove the Scotch out of Ulster in 1551, and, while James I brought more in, these also were exiled in their turn by William the Third when he destroyed the wool industry of Belfast. The Ulster Scotch went to either France or America, and their places were taken by Presbyterians and Protestants from England, by Huguenots from France, and by Catholics from other and less fertile parts of Ireland. This new population, in one hundred years, has been "Irishized" as completely as were the Danes and the Normans. To use the contemptuous phrase of Lord Dunraven: "This con-

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ception of the Protestants in Ulster being a sort of projection of England, or of Scotland, is not an Irish idea. It is a purely British invention. It is a sort of British patent that is brought out every now and then for political purposes."

So much for the *open* case of Ulster. It falls flat and false at every point. What, then, are the *real* reasons for the Ulster attitude and English acquiescence? Why has Ulster changed from a hotbed of republicanism to a refrigerating-plant of monarchism? Formerly nothing would satisfy Ulster but rebellion and separation; now nothing is more abhorrent to Ulster than freedom. It wants the rule of "the king, his faithful subjects we are and will continue all our days."

There are two reasons: one proceeding from politics, the other from the selfishnesses of commerce. Opposition to Irish self-government is the Tory party's sole remaining stock in trade, or, to put it more plainly, the "religious issue" involved is the Tory fig-leaf. Take it away and the ugly nakedness of Tory standpattism would be revealed mercilessly down to the last sordid detail. As long as Law, Cecil, Balfour, Milner, and Curzon can stand in the position of "pro-

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tecting" the "loyal Protestants" of Ulster against the "Scarlet Woman," just so long can they draw attention away from the fact that the Tory party's *raison d'être* is to fight progress and to resist every reform that menaces the special privileges of the ruling class in England. Always and everywhere the forces of reaction seek, and have sought, a "religious issue" or a "moral issue" in order to divert people from industrial and economic wrongs. The "moral issue" served to kill Home Rule in the days of Parnell, and now it is the "religious issue" that serves to deny Ireland the small measure of self-government pledged so solemnly by the elected authorities of England. It is to be borne in mind, also, that control of Ireland is a rich source of campaign contributions and patronage. The Irish government costs about \$150,000,000 a year, and provides lucrative jobs for 100,000 worthy gentlemen, usually English or Scotch, and, naturally enough, there is no burning desire to see these jobs turned over to the Irish.

The commercial reason has been set forth frankly, if not engagingly, by Austen Chamberlain, the Birmingham millionaire manufacturer, leading Unionist, and son of the

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Joseph Chamberlain who deserted Gladstone and the Liberals in 1886 after agreeing to vote for Home Rule. In a document addressed to English readers, Mr. Chamberlain carefully explained that "Ireland buys thirty-two million pounds' worth of British finished products a year," and Home Rule, "by interfering with or destroying this great volume of trade, would bring bankruptcy and disaster to many British firms and their workmen." What Mr. Chamberlain meant, as a matter of course, was that Ireland, under self-government, might possibly desire to build up her own manufactures and cease to be dependent upon England.

It may well be asked at this point why Ireland has to wait on Home Rule for the development of her resources. The answer is very simple. British capital controls the banks of Ireland, and, while concessions are made to Belfast, the rest of Ireland asks in vain for loans for helpful co-operation. A special government commission, reporting in 1910 on these matters, found that the Irish railroads were controlled entirely in the interests of British companies as to facilities and rates, special privileges being given to British goods and special prohibitions being

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leveled against Irish goods. Austin Harrison, an Englishman, writing on railway conditions in Ireland, found that "Transport rates are 37 per cent. higher than in England. It is cheaper to send cattle by road than by rail; cheaper to take coal from Scotland to a seaport than to get it ten miles inland; cheaper to carry goods to England and have them reshipped to Ireland at English rates than to pay the Irish rates. A parcel can travel 500 miles in England for half the price it costs for thirty miles in Ireland. . . . And why? Because of the railway monopoly run for the shareholders, thereby crushing Irish industries. . . . The case of Ireland's chief coal-pit—at Castlecomer—deprived of a railway, is a flagrant example. . . . Good anthracite seams—it does not pay to work them. The colliery works at a quarter pressure—and this in the hour of European coal famine! . . . though it is merely the question of a slip-line of eleven miles."

No development of Irish coal-fields because English coal sells at \$12.50 a ton in Ireland! No development of Irish industry because English manufacturers sell \$160,000,000 worth of goods in Ireland every year!

Stripped of the fake religious issue, the

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"Ulster problem" stands revealed as the vulgar chicane of place-hunting politicians and predatory capitalists. As for the "King and Empire" motive, H. G. Wells makes bitter exposure of the pretense by declaring the "sort of British Nationalism that is subsidized by rich Tories, international financiers, and Ulster lawyers who are neither good Irish nor good English, where patriotism is really 'Britain for the British exploiter,' is 'sham nationalism.'"

Aside from English Tories like Law and Smith, English peers like Milner and Curzon, Anglo-Irish peers like Lord Londonderry, whose titles have their origin in Pitt's purchase of the Irish Parliament in 1800, and the greedy following of office-holders, the "Ulster rebellion" had little base in the convictions of the people of Ulster. Some of the methods employed to drum up recruits for the Ulster Volunteers have been described by St. John G. Ervine, an Ulster Protestant, in his biography of Carson:

The young men of Ulster . . . were not prepared to die in any ditch, first or last, in order to prevent the enactment of the Home Rule bill, and a reputable number of them were positively prepared to fight for its passage. Intimidation, ranging from threats of

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social ostracism to threats of dismissal from employment, was used to induce them to sign the covenant or join the Ulster Volunteers. There was talk of boycotting all Protestant Home-Rulers, and there was an outburst of ill will among men who had previously been on good terms. There were shameful scenes of violence in the shipyards, where gangs of infuriated Orange louts attacked isolated Catholic or Protestant Home-Rulers and subjected them to acts of outrage and brutality which cannot be fitly described. None of the business men of Ulster, old or young, had any taste for rebellion. They certainly had not the appetite for insurrection that their fathers had in 1798.

Had Asquith stood firm against the Carson "bluff"—for it was that and nothing else—it is a certainty that the only "Ulster rebels" to take the field would have been a farcical gathering of English peers, English bankers, English lawyers, and English office-holders, backed from Ulster itself only by such as are in direct or indirect subsidy from the English government. And if Lloyd George forced the issue to-day, the result would be the same.

Chapter VI

The Case of Canada

IN any study of the "Ulster problem," what comes to mind almost instantly is the striking analogy between the Carson-Craig attitude and the position of the American Tory in 1775. Ulster leaders "tremble at the thought of separation from England," stand like iron against any form of self-government for Ireland, declare that there is no capacity for independence in the Irish, and threaten bloodshed and disaster if any degree of freedom is forced upon them.

This style of argument was employed almost to the word by American Tories in their attempt to cripple Washington. They "trembled" morning, noon, and night, protested that "the country did not want independence," branded Washington and Adams and Patrick Henry as "political adventurers of the worst type," declared that the colonists had no capacity for self-government, and

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insisted that separation from England would entail "bloody discord for ages." As Channing points out, this class was drawn from English landlords, colonial officials, and others in receipt of place and money from the English government, just as in Ulster, but while 50,000 of these "loyalists" went into the British service to fight their fellow-Americans, history does not record that Washington yielded to this minority in any degree. An even more startling analogy, however, is found between Ulster's contention to-day and the Canadian situation in 1837. With certain changes in name, the case of the one might well serve as the statement of the other. Home Rule for Canada was resisted on the ground that it would put the English Protestant minority at the mercy of the French Catholic majority; the "loyalists" implored England not to subject their "wealth, enterprise, and education" to the evil domination of the "idle, shiftless, bigoted Papists"; Papineau, the Canadian Parnell, aroused his people to rebellion, Coercion Acts filled the prisons with rebels, and the province rocked to every known hatred and disorder until the grant of self-government in 1841. Even at the risk of acquainting

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Americans with the history of their nearest neighbor, a danger carefully guarded against by the Chinese wall of our educational system, the Canadian struggle must be sketched, for, more than any other one thing, it makes Ireland credible.

It is not unfair to say that Canada, at the outset, was the most choicely "loyal" country in the world, for it might almost be said to have been hand-picked. The 50,000 English office-holders and landlords, who looked upon Washington as a "dangerous agitator," found refuge in Canada, and to Canada also came thousands of English and Scotch carefully selected by the Earl of Selkirk and other illustrious colonizers. As for the French-Canadians, the bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church saw to it that they did not waver in allegiance to the English crown. Even as the Church has always stood for "law and order" in Ireland, so were the revolutions of America and France abhorrent to the Canadian hierarchy.

Yet even this population, so initially slavish, developed protests in very short time, and as early as 1791 we find the astute Pitt giving Canada the same sort of justice that it was his custom to shower upon Ireland.

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He divided the province into Upper Canada and Lower Canada, the former being entirely English and the latter almost solidly French, his idea being to keep the two races separate and antagonistic in order to guard against the dangers of unity.

Upper Canada and Lower Canada each received a "parliament"—that is, the people were allowed to elect an Assembly, but all power was vested in the governor, sent out from England, and in an executive council appointed by the governor and not responsible to the people in any degree. This shadow of popular government soon became odious to the Canadians, and the feeling was made more bitter by cruel laws designed to crush protest against wanton extravagances and the grossest corruption.

In both provinces, for instance, great tracts of land were devoted to the support of "the Protestant religion in Canada," and as this was interpreted to mean the Church of England, the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists were soon faced with a situation that put the bulk of their natural resources at the disposal of one religious faith. A receiver-general embezzled \$500,000, but was not punished or even removed

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from office. Individual protests were met by arrest, and any paper that dared to complain was instantly suppressed. The Assemblies, striking back as best they could, refused to vote supplies, but the governor met this by simply taking over the treasury and spending as he saw fit. Sets of resolutions, bitter in their portrayal and denunciation of injustice, were sent to England, but, while the king and his advisers "deplored" and "regretted" and promised "reform," they refused flatly to give Canadians the self-government that would have enabled them to provide their own remedies for persecution, corruption, and burdensome taxes.

Even as in Ireland, leaders were not lacking, and religious and racial differences were forgotten in a common resistance to oppression. In Lower Canada, Louis Papineau, French, and Dr. Wolfred Nelson, English, led the forces of protest, while in Upper Canada, Scotch and English rebels were captained by William Lyon Mackenzie. Convinced at last that relief could not be won by constitutional methods, rebellion was decided upon. Lower Canada struck first. The people organized the Sons of Liberty, and the Assembly, in solemn session, virtually de-

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manded the withdrawal of all imperial authority. The governor-general, outraged by this insolence, dissolved the House, and Papineau and Nelson straightway sounded the call to arms. Throughout the closing months of 1837 there was bitter fighting, but the poorly armed Colonials, lacking artillery, were no match for the veteran English regulars, and by the new year the rebellion was crushed, even as rebellions had been crushed in Ireland, and the leaders were dead, or fled, or in prison.

In Upper Canada, Mackenzie could not perfect his arrangements in time to join forces with Papineau, and it was this failure that spelled defeat for both. It was not until November 25th, the day of the most decisive battle in Lower Canada, that Mackenzie announced "the Provisional Government of the State of Upper Canada," and flung to the wind the hopeful banner of the new republic. A blacksmith, Samuel Lount, was the commander-in-chief of the rebel forces, and under him were 1,000 men armed with scythes, axes, and pitchforks, only a slight variant from the pikes and ashen stakes of the Irish. All the courage in the world may not compensate for inadequate equipment, and even as Papineau and Nelson

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were crushed, Mackenzie and Lount went down to defeat and despair.

The constitution of 1791 was suspended, and Canada lived under an absolutism as cruel and thorough as though it had been a Congo province. The one gleam of hope that lighted the darkness of the period was the appointment as governor-general of Lord Durham, a wise man, just and humane. One of his first acts was to call a conference of leaders from the Upper and Lower Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, asking for their grievances and suggestions. His second act was to grant a general amnesty out of a desire to establish an atmosphere of harmony in which to work out his plans for peace and justice. Such a man, however, and such plans had no place in the English government's scheme of things, and Lord Durham was recalled after a tenure of six short months. In England, however, he filed a report that lives in history for its scorching indictment of English misrule. Here are some of the counts:

The public have no security for any fairness in the selection of juries. There was no check on the sheriff. The public knew he could pack a jury whenever he

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pleased, and supposed that an officer holding a lucrative appointment at the pleasure of the Government would be ready to carry into effect their designs.

The Bench, the magistracy, the high places in the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by this party, (The "Family Compact"); by grant or purchase they have acquired nearly the whole of the unoccupied lands of the province; they are all powerful in the chartered banks, and till lately they shared among themselves exclusively all offices of trust and profit. The principal members of this party belong to the Church of England, and maintenance of the claims of the Church has always been one of their distinguishing characteristics.

It was a vain delusion to imagine that by mere limitations in the Constitution Act, or an exclusive system of government, a body strong in the consciousness of wielding the public opinion of the majority could look on as a passive or indifferent spectator while laws were carried into effect by men in whose intentions or capacity it had not the slightest confidence. Yet such was the limitation upon the authority of the Assembly of Lower Canada. It might refuse to pass laws, vote or refuse supplies; but it could exercise no influence on a single officer of the Crown. The Executive, the Law Officers, the heads of the Administrative Departments, were placed in power without any regard to the wishes of the people or their representatives, nor indeed are there wanting instances in which hostility to the majority of the people elevated the most incompetent persons to posts of honor and trust.

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And had he been writing of Ireland, Lord Durham could not have drawn a more accurate picture of the forces that work inevitably for poverty and emigration. "I dread," he declared, "the completion of the sad work of depopulation and impoverishment which is now rapidly going on. The present evil is not merely that improvement is stayed, and that the wealth and population of these colonies do not increase according to the rapid scale of American progress. No accession of population takes place by immigration and no capital is brought into the country. On the contrary, both the people and the capital seem to be quitting these distracted provinces."

His report was dismissed contemptuously as a matter of course, the Duke of Wellington declaring that "local responsible government for Canada and the sovereignty of Great Britain were completely incompatible." Lord Stanley, in asking the consequences of granting the Canadian demand, answered himself as follows: "The establishment of a republic—the concession would remove the only check to the tyrannical power of the dominant majority—a majority in numbers only, while in wealth, education, and enterprise

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they are greatly inferior to the minority. The minority of the settlers are of British descent, and one thing is certain, if these settlers find themselves deprived of British protection they will protect themselves. Measures to that effect would be taken within six months after the concession." Exactly the claim of Carson and Bonar Law in 1914!

Sir George Arthur, called from Van Diemen's Land to be governor-general of Canada, brought with him to his new post the same cruelty that had marked his despotic rule over England's convict settlement. Rebel leaders were hung, jails filled with prisoners, and both provinces were given over to wholesale persecution that established a reign of terror throughout the length and breadth of Canada. Supported enthusiastically by Arthur, the oligarch groups of English officeholders passed new and more odious laws, and in the fall of 1838 rebellion broke out anew. Under the leadership of van Schultz, a Polish exile, Canadian refugees and American sympathizers crossed the line to aid the rebels, but the American government, as an evidence of neutrality, seized their boats, depriving them of the arms and reinforcements that had been counted upon. Sur-

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render came after fierce fighting, and the governor, refusing to consider the men as other than traitors, hung van Schults and eleven of his associates. At other points, prisoners were shot down at once without even a court martial, and execution followed execution until the English people forced the government to call a halt upon the brutalities of General Arthur.

Lovers of liberty in England now forced a reconsideration of the report of Lord Durham, and insisted that the choice to be made was either a just and generous measure of self-government for Canada or else armed occupation with all the savageries that subjugation entails. Canada, more fortunate than Ireland, was separated from England by the Atlantic Ocean, not a narrow channel, and it was this fact, as much as anything else, that forced Home Rule into operation in 1841. The two Canadas were united under a single constitution "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom"; the executive council was made responsible to the legislature in the same way as the Cabinet is responsible to Parliament. Members of the council, like Cabinet ministers, vacated their seats on appointment, and had to seek re-

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election before they could act; and the council was liable to be turned out of office by the vote of the legislative bodies. In a word, the Canadian people were "to execute as well as to make laws." All granted grudgingly after years of bitterness reddened by the blood of rebellion.

Learning nothing by the lesson, for inability to learn by experience is the one distinguishing characteristic of all Bourbon rule, the English government refused to the other provinces the self-government granted to the two Canadas. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island had remained "loyal" during the rebellions of Papineau and Mackenzie, although their grievances were as great, and had even sent militia to help crush the uprisings in the sister provinces. The reward for loyalty was to be told that they were not yet sufficiently advanced for self-government, whereupon the provinces, eyes somewhat opened, took a page out of the Canadian book, and commenced to agitate and threaten. It is instructive, and even amusing, to note the absolute likeness of their complaints to those of the Irish, "absentee landlordism," for instance, being a bitter anger in the prov-

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inces no less than in Ireland. Most of the land had been granted to English peers, and the great majority of farmers paid rents to men never seen by them and who had no concern with them save in the matter of these rentals. Poor devils would spend years in improving a piece of wild land, only to be confronted by a demand for "arrears" or else a raise in rent far beyond their means. Evictions were as common as in Ireland and resistance just as violent. It was not until 1848 that New Brunswick and Nova Scotia secured self-government, while Prince Edward Island waited until 1852 and Newfoundland until 1855.

Another illuminative comparison is that between the Unionists of Ulster in 1914 and the Conservatives of Canada, the loyalty of both being revealed as a kind that endures only when coddled, breaking forth into disloyalty when its privileges are interfered with in any degree.

A bill, introduced in the Canadian Parliament to meet the rebellion losses incurred by loyal French-Canadians, was fought with the utmost bitterness by the English ruling class, and open insurrection was threatened in event of its passage. When the measure

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was passed and duly signed by a courageous governor-general, the wealth and respectability of Montreal mobbed Lord Elgin, stoned the members of Parliament from their seats, and set the building on fire, an uprising that resulted in the change of the capital to Ottawa.

The British North America Act, put into operation in 1867, federated the provinces of Canada, and gave the people a complete measure of Home Rule. Aside from the Parliament, however, with full control of trade, commerce, postal service, military and naval defense, fisheries, coinage, banking, criminal law and appeals, each province has its own provisional legislature, and its own responsible government, these things constituting the measure of justice that is denied to Ireland.

The "experiment" has been tried now for more than half a century, and from the very first hour of self-government every gloomy prophecy of the "loyalists" has been given the lie by results. Catholics and Protestants did not fly at one another's throats, but have lived in amity and accord, and the Canadian records fail to show a single instance of official bigotry or attempt at sectarian intol-

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erance. The "depopulation and impoverishment" noted by Lord Durham ceased quickly with responsible government; land and people have prospered in wonderful degree, and the old hatreds and rebellions have been succeeded by a real loyalty that sent thousands of young Canadian volunteers to the defense of England in her hour of most terrible need.

These are results that could have been obtained in Ireland at any time in the last two hundred years had England chosen to meet the repeated rebellions of the Irish with the justice that one Canadian revolt compelled. Just as fairness won the love and allegiance of Canada and its people, giving the strength and safety of the Empire a new foundation-stone, so did the English policy of force in Ireland deepen ancient angers and feed the enmity of the Irish. Not alone did this implacable antagonism crouch on England's very threshold, but a million Gaels, deported by their despairs, gave to other lands the genius that England despised and ignored.

Nothing is more safe than the assertion that there is not a country of the world in which the exiles of Erin have not played great parts in every drama of progress and

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construction, enriching and encouraging the native stock and lending ardor and abilities to national tasks, whether war or statecraft or administration, commerce or literature. Macaulay, commenting in bitter melancholy upon Irish conditions after the reign of cruel bigotry inaugurated by William III, said:

There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition, but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland—at Versailles, and at St. Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a marshal of France. Another became Prime Minister to Spain. If he had stayed in his native land, he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who had signed the Declaration against Transubstantiation. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George the Second and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George the Third. Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave generals, dexterous Irish diplomats, Irish Counts, Irish Barons, Irish Knights of Saint Lewis and of Saint Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments or freemen of petty corporations.

The answer stands as true to-day as when Macaulay wrote it. As in the past, it is still

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the case that Irishmen of brains and vision are looked upon as "inferiors" unless they choose to identify themselves with the English ruling class, joining in the oppression of their fellows, vying with the House of Lords in contempt for the capacities of Ireland's native stock. If they do not choose to make this betrayal, political preferment is closed to them; the door to wealth is likewise shut, for British capital controls Irish initiative, and wherever they turn they find similar bars that may only be raised by their apostasy. This, then, is the reason why the Irish are forced to rise to greatness in other lands, writing in every page of history, in every language, a record of capacity that, expressed in their native country, would have lifted Ireland to high place among the nations of the world. It might almost be said that the Irish, wherever found, come under the head of "natural resources."

MacMahon was made Duke of Magenta and a marshal of France, and rose to be President of the French Republic. Sarsfield won the baton of a field-marshal at the head of the famous Irish Brigade, and publicly received the thanks of the French nation; Mahony carried the French to victory in Italy, and

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at the battle of Fontenoy, England's most terrible defeat since Hastings, Irish fighting men played so important a part that the English king cried out in his anguish, "Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects!"

In Spain, Wall was a prime minister, the O'Donnells were dukes of Tetuan, O'Reilly was Governor of Cadiz, and three times during the eighteenth century there occurred the amazing spectacle of Irishmen serving as Spanish ambassadors at the English court. In Portugal the O'Neills were counts of Santa Monica, and O'Donnells, O'Dalys, Kellys, Fitzgeralds, and O'Farrells rose to be dukes and barons, ministers, judges, generals, and admirals.

As an Irish writer bitterly records:

Within a century, the great Leinster house of Kavanagh counted in Europe an aulic councillor, a governor of Prague, a field-marshal at Vienna, a field-marshal in Poland, a great chamberlain in Saxony, a count of the Holy Roman Empire, a French Conventionist of 1793, Godefroy Cavaignac, co-editor with Armand Carrell and Eugene Cavaignac, sometime dictator in France, and Edward Kavanagh, minister of Portugal. Russia found among the exiles a governor-general of Livonia. Count Thomond was com-

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mander at Languedoc. Lally was governor at Pondicherry. O'Dwyer was commander of Belgrade; Lacy, of Riga; Lawless, governor of Majorca.

The O'Donnells and O'Briens, changed to Odontscheffs and Obrutscheffs, rose to power in Russia, Count Taaffe came to wield almost autocratic sway in Austria, and others that the Austrian government delighted to honor were Baron O'Brien, Baron Brady, Baron McGuire, and Count O'Kelly.

The great Duke of Wellington was an Irishman, and even while England was denying the capacity of the Irish to rule themselves, four Irishmen—Richard Wellesley, Francis Hastings, Richard Bourke, and Frederick Blackwood—were sent as governor-generals to hold sway over all India. Guy Carleton, the greatest governor-general that Canada ever knew, was a Tyrone man, and Dean Swift, Laurence Sterne, Oliver Goldsmith, Edmund Burke, Richard Brinsley Sheridan were Irish, and Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" lives through all time as an accurate picture of Irish expropriation. Charles Gavan Duffy, three times tried for his life by English justice, went to Australia and became prime minister of Victoria, and

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another Irishman ruled New South Wales as governor.

Duffy, visiting in Paris during the presidency of Marshal MacMahon, painted this graphic picture of France's gain and England's loss:

In the drawing-room of the President of the French Republic, who is the natural head of the exiled families, I met descendants of Irish chiefs who took refuge on the continent at the time of the Plantation of Ulster by the first Stuart; descendants of Irish soldiers who sailed from Limerick with Sarsfield; or a little later with the "Wild Geese" (Jacobites); of Irish soldiers who shared the fortunes of Charles Edward (the "Young Pretender"); of Irish peers and gentlemen to whom life in Ireland without a career became intolerable in the dark era between the fall of Limerick and the rise of Henry Grattan; and kinsmen of soldiers of a later date, who began life as United Irishmen, and ended as staff-officers of Napoleon. Who can measure what was lost to Ireland and the [British] Empire by driving these men and their descendants into the armies and diplomacy of France? All of them except the men of '98 have become so French that they scarce speak any other language. There is a Saint Patrick's Day dinner in Paris every 17th of March, where the company consists chiefly of military and civil officers of Irish descent, who commemorate the national apostle, but where the language of the speeches is French because no other would be generally understood. I reproached a gal-

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lant young soldier of this class, whom I met in Paris, with having relinquished the link of a common language with the native soil of his race. "Monsieur," he replied, proudly, "when my ancestors left Ireland they would have scorned to accept the language any more than the laws of England; they spoke the native Gaelic."

From the beginning, America's relations with Ireland have been more intimate than with any other nation save France. In every one of the thirteen Colonies were men and women of Irish birth, exiled from their mother-country by the oppressions of England, their hearts filled with a passion for freedom that gave purpose and courage to the American complaint against British tyranny. These Irishmen signed the Declaration of Independence—Carroll of Carrollton, Smith, Taylor, Thornton, Lynch, McKean, Read, Rutledge, Hancock, Whipple—and into the armies of Washington poured thousands of fighting men of pure Irish blood.

Edmund Burke, raising the question of the nationality of the American troops before an English parliamentary commission appointed to investigate the failures of British generals, quoted the declaration of General Lee that "half the Rebel Continental Army were from

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Ireland." Lord Mountjoy also gave this testimony in 1784: "America was lost by Irish emigrants. I am assured, from the best authority, the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valor that determined the contest, so that England had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants."

Four months before Concord, a New Hampshire Irishman, John Sullivan, afterward one of Washington's most famous generals, won the first great success of the American Revolution by his capture of Fort William and Mary. O'Brien, another Irish exile, struck the first blow at British sea power in 1775, and John Barry, a Wexford man, was virtually the founder of the American navy.

Among the generals upon whom Washington most depended, Richard Montgomery, Walter Stewart, William Thompson, Stephen Moylan, William Irvine, and Richard Butler were Irish exiles, while among the generals of Irish parentage were Edward Hand, Washington's adjutant-general, John Stark, Brown, Marion, George Clinton, afterward

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the first governor of New York, and Knox, later Secretary of the War and Navy.

The Irish not only gave their blood to American freedom, but their money as well. When the Bank of Pennsylvania was organized to supply funds for the support of the American army, one-third of the subscribers, representing more than one-third the capital, were members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and this organization later contributed outright the sum of \$517,500 of a total of \$1,500,000. Washington praised this society as "distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are involved," and accepted membership in it as offered by a unanimous vote.

Irish aid was not confined to these shores alone, however, for Count Arthur Dillon sailed with 2,300 Irish troops from France to fight for America in the West Indies. It was this force's capture of British bases that relieved the Colonists of a great danger, contributing no little to the ultimate success.

This intimacy of relation was not due entirely to actual Irish assistance, but sprang also from the feeling that the American Colonies had much in common with Ireland

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by reason of a common oppressor. Benjamin Franklin, while in England, gave much time and thought to pointing out the similarity between Irish and American aspirations, and one of the first acts of the Continental Congress was to frame a formal address to the Irish people that contained this paragraph:

We are desirous [as is natural to injured innocence] of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. . . . We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us had persuaded the Administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of [the British] Government have long been cruel toward you. In the rich pastures of Ireland many hungry parasites have fed and grown strong, to labor for its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten, and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty may soon be defeated. . . . For the achievement of this happy event we confide in the good offices of our sympathizers beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly dispositions we do not yet despair, aware as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy than the humble favor of being last devoured.

Gen. Andrew Jackson was the son of Irish parents, and a fourth of his officers in the

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War of 1812 were men of Irish birth or parentage, and it is estimated that not less than 170,000 Irishmen fought under Lincoln for the preservation of the Union. Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher, an Irish rebel, deported for life by the English government, and escaped from Van Diemen's Land to the United States, was among the first to offer his sword, and this testimony, from a British observer, might well serve as a general description of Irish conduct throughout the struggle:

To the Irish division commanded by General Meagher was principally committed the desperate task of bursting out of the town of Fredericksburg, and forming under the withering fire of the Confederate batteries, to attack Marye's Heights, towering immediately in their front. Never at Fontenoy, at Albuera, or at Waterloo was more undoubted courage displayed by the sons of Erin than during those six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe. The bodies, which lie in dense masses within forty yards of the muzzles of Colonel Walton's guns, are the best evidence of what manner of men they were who pressed on to death with the dauntlessness of a race which has gained glory on a thousand battle-fields.

When the United States, driven to war by the outrages and ill faith of the Imperial

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German government, called for men to support the ideals of democracy, the most instant and enthusiastic response was from the so-called Irish-Americans. Hatred of England, handed down from generation to generation through seven centuries, was put aside out of devotion to the country of their adoption, and the records of the War Office are thick with Irish names and instances of Irish valor. Prior to the adoption of the treaty arrangements, such unnaturalized residents of the United States as were citizens of a co-belligerent country had the right to claim exemption when drafted. The report of the provost marshal shows that this class waived exemption in the following percentages:

Ireland.....	30.4
Belgium.....	24.4
Scotland.....	24.2
England.....	22.5
Wales.....	22.0
Serbia.....	21.7
Canada.....	21.0
France.....	19.4
Italy.....	16.8

Just as they have fought side by side with pure native stock in every American war for

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the preservation of democracy and the triumph of democratic ideals, so have the Irish played heroic part in the victories of peace. In the advancement of the frontier, the harnessing of streams, the battle with mountain and plain, the conquest of desert and waste, men of Irish blood have left records of achievement that deserve our gratitude and faith. There is no department of American endeavor—profession, trade, or calling—that Gaels have not entered and enriched, and when, out of ancient devotions that must ever remain dear to decent hearts, they ask that pledged principles of justice be applied to Ireland, America will find it difficult indeed to refuse.

Chapter VII

Can Ireland Stand Alone?

THIS is a "practical world," and never so "practical" as when some elementary proposition of equity is up for consideration and decision. Justice is rarely denied out of any lack of love for justice, but rather by reason of the fear that poor, "impractical" Justice will not be able to look after herself in a "practical" manner. Better far to let Justice remain in a prison cell than that she should be permitted to run ragged in the streets, perhaps to go hungry and cold, or else to risk the thousand and one dangers of unprotection. So, then, on many sides, we hear the question, "Can Ireland stand alone?" Is the island large enough, are there people enough, and what of its resources, finances, and general ability to make good as a nation among nations? "Practical" folk are worried about these things. England herself, highly "practical," is concerned no little.

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As to size, Ireland qualifies easily, for the island is twice as large as Belgium, Holland, Denmark, or Switzerland, and has an area in square miles almost equal to that of Serbia, Portugal, Greece, or Bulgaria. As to population, Ireland has twice as many people as Norway or Denmark, a million more people than Switzerland, and about the same number of inhabitants as Serbia, Bulgaria, or Greece. The industries of Ireland have been crushed, and its resources are far from full development, yet, notwithstanding these handicaps, the following figures, showing trade in 1915, prove rather conclusively that the island is a going concern in itself and by itself:

Greece.....	\$62,500,000
Bulgaria.....	75,000,000
Portugal.....	115,000,000
Rumania.....	205,000,000
Norway.....	210,000,000
Denmark.....	325,000,000
Sweden.....	375,000,000
Ireland.....	862,000,000

About 97 per cent. of this foreign commerce is with England, for, by a clever system of regulations and administrative enactments, Ireland has been shut off from direct

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contact with foreign countries. Given restored industries and the right to sell in any market without let or hindrance, an increase in the volume of business is reasonably to be expected. The same system also forces the Irish to buy almost exclusively in the English market, and their worth as customers may be judged from the fact that England's trade with Ireland, under normal conditions, is second only to England's trade with the United States, amounting to about \$850,000,000 annually. Here again Ireland insists upon a money loss by reason of her inability to buy in any other than the English market.

In the matter of finances, Ireland is paying to-day an annual tax revenue of \$200,000,000, and, as only \$65,000,000 is spent on Irish government, the net profit to England is about \$135,000,000 a year. The cost of government to the people of Switzerland is about \$35,000,000 a year; in Norway it is \$36,000,000 and in Denmark \$27,500,000, and it is to be borne in mind that each of these three countries maintains an army. The Irish insist that economy and honesty would cut their government cost to the Swiss, Danish, and Norse figures; but, even if this

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claim be put aside, the surplus \$135,000,000 that now goes to the English government would seem to remove any fear that an independent Ireland would have to adopt mendicancy as its profession. These answers, concerned with population, trade, and financial strength, are given by the Ireland of day, the Ireland that persists after seven centuries of oppression and persecution, and that she is able to make such a showing is in itself a proof of sheer indestructibility. There is another Ireland, however, that beckons to us from history—rich in its culture, blessed in its resources, resistless in its energies and initiative—needing only to be released from bondage to rise again to strength and power.

In 1841 the population of Ireland was 8,175,124; in 1914, the last census, it had shrunk to 4,375,554. Despite natural increase, a nation drained of half its people in seventy-three years! If the Irish case against England rested on this one count, the verdict is assured. The story of this tragic shrinkage—wars of extermination in which even women and children were not spared, famine, pestilence, evictions, amazing cruelties—has been told in previous chapters; what has not been set down is the record of

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rapacity, the dingy chronicle of industrial greed: how English rule minted Irish blood and sweat, how English business crushed Irish business, an attack by bookkeepers and lawmakers even more terrible in its consequences than the extirpations of Cromwell.

As far back as 1640 the Earl of Strafford, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, wrote this suggestion of policy to Charles I:

I am of opinion that all wisdom advises to keep this kingdom as much subordinate and dependent upon England as is possible, and holding them from the manufacture of wool; and then enforcing them to fetch their clothing from thence, and to take their salt from the King,—being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities—how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary?

The effects of this policy were noted by Lord Dufferin in 1867:

From Queen Elizabeth's reign until the Union the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one, each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth, or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interests in England, until at last

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every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude.

A modern voice, that of Sydney Brooks, the well-known English writer, completes the record with this frank confession:

One by one we deliberately strangled her (Ireland's) incipient industries. Woolens, glass, cotton, sail-cloth, sugar-refining, shipping the cattle, and provision trade—all went.

Mr. Brooks's reference to shipping may sound amusing to-day, but as late as the sixteenth century Ireland was a sea power, Erin's ships sailing the seven seas, carrying the fine leathers and serges and silks of Irish manufacture to the markets of Spain, France, and South America, and even winning Mediterranean trade in competition with the far-famed weavers of Florence. Galway was a greater port than Liverpool, and second only to London in shipping; the harbors of eight Irish cities were thick with masts flying every known flag; and as Katherine Hughes records, "20,000 foreign fishermen paid customs duties to the O'Sullivan Beara for fishing in the territorial waters of the O'Sullivans; and

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of Spanish boats alone, over 300 paid similar dues to the O'Driscolls." English law after English law, however, struck at the very existence of Irish shipping, Irish merchants were even forbidden to use ships not built in England, port after port was ringed around with prohibitions, and by 1600 Ireland, the island, was about as much of a marine power as Switzerland.

The cattle trade was next selected for attack. As Catholics were not permitted to own land, and as even tenure under lease was short and uncertain, tenants were afraid to run the risk of cultivation and turned naturally to the raising of live stock. It was not long until Irish beeves captured the English market, so by an Act of Elizabeth Irish cattle were declared a "nuisance," and between 1673 and 1670 successive statutes and orders prohibited absolutely the exportation of Irish cattle, sheep, and swine, a blow that destroyed hundreds of thousands of dollars in values, bringing a new poverty to the land. Barred from shipping on the hoof, the Irish began to kill at home, and in time built up a brisk provision trade with France, Holland, the American Colonies, and particularly with the West Indies. This in its turn was wiped

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out, and while salted meat managed to escape until 1776, a drastic embargo in that year crushed this remnant of a once flourishing industry. The hides of the beasts seemed to give a chance for profit, but no sooner did the trade show signs of life than an English law prohibited the exportation of Irish leather.

Blocked in everything else, the Irish now gave their pastures over to sheep-raising as the base of a woolen industry that soon had its artisans in hundreds of homes as well as in factories. It was a stable industry, as well as suitable, and it looked for a while as if the Irish were to be permitted a certain measure of prosperity. It was not long, however, before we find the House of Lords warning the king that "the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here." English wool merchants commenced instantly to agitate for "protection," and in 1698, under William III, the Irish woolen industry was destroyed at a blow by the imposition of ex-

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orbitant export duties. In Belfast alone 40,000 people were thrown into idleness, and about 100,000 in the south of Ireland. As Lecky comments, sadly, "So ended the fairest promise Ireland had ever known of becoming a prosperous and happy country." Forth from the land fared the Irish weavers, "some to the Protestant States of Germany, where they founded manufactories for the celebrated Saxon cloth—some, who were Catholics, to the North of Spain; and many, both Protestants and Catholics, to France, where they founded establishments at Rouen and other places, and were warmly received by Louis XIV, who guaranteed to the Protestants the free use of their religion, although he had previously revoked the Edict of Nantes."

William, doubtless ashamed of his complicity in the shameful transaction, decided to build up a linen industry in Ireland, and in 1698 Louis Crommelin, a Huguenot refugee, was brought to Belfast and made "overseer of the Royal Linen Manufactory of Ireland." Only inferior brown and white linens were permitted to be exported, however, and these only to English colonies, England reserving the monopoly of trade in first-class linens.

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A further helpful touch was a high export duty on even these inferior qualities, for the reason that the Dutch and Germans refused to buy English woollens unless given a special privilege over Irish linens. It was not until 1743 that the English Parliament commenced to pass helpful laws. But mark the discrimination in this aid! When the Catholics of the south and west of Ireland commenced to turn their attention to linen, the English government arbitrarily ruled against any extension, holding that the industry must be confined to Ulster.

In 1750 the growing Irish trade in sailcloth, canvas, and cordage was killed by the imposition of duties; when Ireland built up a cotton industry, giving work to 30,000 people, the English Parliament imposed penalties on any person using cotton goods in Great Britain unless made in Great Britain; when the indomitable Irish turned to glass-making, for Ireland has many of the necessary raw materials, legislation under George II prohibited Ireland from exporting glass to any country whatever. In rapid succession followed the destruction of such industries as gunpowder, hats, and ironware.

Dublin was once a great publishing center,

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some fifty plants turning out books that supplied the American Colonial trade almost exclusively, as well as selling the world over. Export duties closed down these plants, and in the same manner forty paper-mills, in prosperous operation on the banks of the Liffey, were put out of business. The brewing of beer, grown to large proportions, was crippled by prohibitive taxation, and a law forbidding the export of silk manufactures dealt still another blow to Irish initiative. At the time there were 1,400 silk-looms in Dublin alone, and, as in the case of woolens, the artisans emigrated, leaving none behind to teach the craft.

Even as industries were crippled or crushed outright, so did English law stand like the stone of Sisyphus in the way of any development of the natural resources of Ireland. Under the sod of Erin lie great beds of iron and coal; there are also copper deposits; some of its clay is the finest in the world for pottery, chinaware, and tile-making, while Irish territorial waters teem with fish of every kind. It comes as a surprise indeed to learn that as far back as 1672 there were 6,600 blast-furnaces in operation in Ireland, giving employment to 25,000 workers. Charcoal was the

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fuel, but when the exhaustion of their forests turned the attention of the Irish to coal and peat, the English prevented and the industry died. Even to-day there is no railroad to the Irish coal-fields, while the peat reserves of Ireland—5,400,000,000 tons—are equally denied development by the opposition of English mine-owners, who insist upon a monopoly of the Irish coal market. Similar conditions exist as to copper and pottery. With respect to the fishing industry, in 1846 there were 19,883 fishing-vessels working out of Irish ports, giving profitable occupation to 93,000 men and boys. By 1904 the number of fishing-boats had fallen to 6,236, this result being obtained by a carefully devised license system.

It was not sufficient, however, to keep the body of Ireland in poverty; there was a companion necessity to starve the mind of Ireland in order that it might not dream dreams, and this denial of education to the Irish was carried out with the same thoroughness that marked the destruction of industries and commerce. Prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, Ireland was famed for its learning, and not only did its culture, flowing out of the monasteries and universities, civilize and

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enlighten western Europe, but even the youth of the Continent pilgrimaged to Erin to sit under Irish teachers. The invaders not only destroyed the schools and banished the faculties, murdered the bards and stilled the harp, but they burned also the priceless stores of manuscript until only the Annals of the Four Masters remain to tell the story of early glory.

It has been related already how Irish schools were forbidden by king after king, queen after queen, the iron hand of prohibition reaching so far as to bar Catholics from sending their children to the colleges of the Continent under penalty of death and confiscation of properties. Out of it all came the "hedge schools," the indomitable yet pathetic effort of a people to carry on the national tradition, masters and pupils crouching in fields and woods and lanes, teaching and learning, in hourly fear of arrest and punishment. As late as 1833, when the old methods were no longer possible, the Anglican idea still imposed itself upon the Irish educational system. The children of Erin, in returning daily thanks to God for the blessings of English rule, were forced to include a burst of gratitude for being born "a happy

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English child." Irish history was prohibited, and dunce-caps and corporal punishment were the portion of such abandoned little wretches as used a word of Gaelic.

The higher education, as well as the primary, rested under similar repression. In the time of Henry VIII, before that king had developed the marital habit and while he was still "Defender of the Faith," the Catholics founded Trinity College in Dublin, a brave attempt to rekindle ancient fires. Elizabeth, however, laid violent hands on the institution and turned it into a Protestant college, with explicit purpose to "Anglicize" the Irish. She also endowed it richly with lands confiscated from Catholics, and to-day Trinity is the richest college in Europe, having many sources of income other than that derived from the 200,000 acres in Munster and Ulster from which Elizabeth drove the Irish Catholic owners. Yet it was not until 1793 that Catholics were even admitted to Trinity. Always a source of bitterness, the demand for an Irish university became acute as far back as 1873, and British ministries, one after the other, promised and repudiated, until finally Mr. Balfour, in 1889, said that the question could be settled on these condi-

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tions: (1) That Ireland should be content with a college instead of a university; (2) that there should be no endowment by public money of the teaching of their religious creed; and (3) that there should be a conscience clause, to protect any non-Catholic student from being compelled to attend religious services. Catholics of Ireland—laity and bishops—accepted these three conditions, but Mr. Balfour then decided that it was impossible to legislate upon the question at all until public opinion in England, Scotland, and Ireland was practically unanimous upon the subject. Lord Bryce, always a champion of justice to Ireland, was the next to enter upon an agreement, but when he came to the United States as ambassador his pledges were repudiated by those who succeeded him. Not until 1908 did Ireland finally win the privilege of a national university, and then so hedged around with restrictions as to be less than free in its development.

Reduced from the status of owners to tenants, bound in body and starved in mind, living lives ordered by the martial law of an army of occupation, the condition of the Irish might have well induced pity and for-

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bearance, but the British program refused to alter its logical and inexorable progress. There were still sources of profit in the individual industry of the Irish, and by advanced and approved methods of taxation English law proceeded to confiscate these earnings. One of the early customs, highly favored by most kings, was the granting of pensions out of the Irish establishment; in plain words, the Irish people were compelled to pay annual sums to such English and foreign favorites as the English crown chose to designate. By way of illustration, these names and amounts are taken from the Irish records:

The Duchess of Kendal, mistress of George I, \$15,000 a year; the Countess of Yarmouth, \$20,000 a year; the Princess of Hesse, \$25,000 a year, the Queen Dowager of Prussia, \$4,000 a year; Lady Betty Walgrave, \$4,000 a year; M. de Verios, the Sardinian ambassador who negotiated peace with France, \$5,000 a year; Lady Kilmansegg, \$6,250 a year; the Countess of Belmont, \$7,500 a year; Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, \$33,500 a year; Lord Bathurst, \$10,000 a year; the Duke of Gloucester, \$15,000 a year; the Duke of Cumberland, \$15,000 a year; Prin-

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cess Amelia, \$5,000 a year; Princess Augusta, \$25,000 a year; Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark (banished for adultery), \$15,000 a year.

Death rarely gave the burdened Irish any relief, for the pension was merely transferred to some other favorite and became permanent. Within the official circle, a pension attached to an office and paid concurrently with the salary was sometimes retained on the pensioner's promotion to a better post, though he either could not or would not discharge the duties of the pensioned office. As exposed by Swift in his *Drapier Letters*, many of the higher offices in Church, state, and judiciary were given, with their salaries, to Englishmen who in some cases never came to Ireland, and never made, or pretended to make, any return whatever for the salaries.

In spite of these practices, the Irish national debt was less than \$15,000,000 prior to the Act of Union. In 1801, however, after one year's operation of the measure that was to work benefits and blessings, Ireland owed \$142,225,670, decidedly an increase that may be called substantial. Pitt had spent \$10,000,000 in bribing through the Act of Union, and this

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amount was calmly saddled upon the Irish. There was also the sum of \$15,000,000 that Pitt casually borrowed on Ireland's credit, and, in addition, the Irish were loaded with \$100,000,000, England's estimate of what it cost to suppress the rebellion of 1798. This, however, does not tell the full story by any means. It was explicitly stated at the time of union that "In respect to past expenses, Ireland was to have no concern whatever with the debt of Great Britain," but in 1817 the two exchequers were amalgamated, and the already burdened Irish were compelled to assume their share of the purely British load. The Irish debt leaped instantly to \$605,000,000.

Another agreement in the Act of Union was that "future expenses" would be borne on a "strict measure of relative ability," the proportion fixed upon at the time being one to seven and a half. England's population rose, Ireland's lessened, but there was no readjustment, and a Gladstone commission reported in 1894 that Ireland was even then paying \$13,750,000 more than her share, and that since the Act of Union in 1880 Ireland had been overcharged__to

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the amount of \$2,000,000,000. What made for bitterness, as well as privation, was the form of taxation. In England the indirect taxation never exceeded 50 per cent. of the gross sum to be levied, and frequently went as low as 23½ per cent., but in Ireland 75 per cent. of revenue was raised by taxes on food and the necessities of life.

As it has been, so it is to-day. The Earl of Dunraven, in a spirited pamphlet, has described the Irish system of government as "a grotesque anachronism . . . divided up between numerous departments, over many of which, some the most important, the Irish government has no effective control. These departments overlap and the result is confusion and extravagance. Scotland and Ireland have approximately the same population, yet Ireland pays about \$1,000,000 more than Scotland for her judicial system; \$5,000,000 more for her police; and \$320,000 more for her local government. The Irish police entail an outlay of over \$7,500,000 annually; in other words, the cost of the police for every man, woman, and child in arms in Ireland works out an average of \$1.66 per head. The picture of a charge of this amount for keeping in order an infant

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in arms, to state the case in its most absurd light, is too ridiculous to need statement in further detail, when it is borne in mind that crime in Ireland is actually less than in Scotland."

He might have added that the records prove that Ireland was never so peaceful or law-abiding as during the Boer War, when England's necessities forced the withdrawal of 30,000 soldiers and diverted English energies for a while from the business of "keeping the Irish in order." He could also have commented with profit upon the fact that the harassment of the people by their "armed guards" is as much a cause of protest as the appalling cost. There have been prosecutions for whistling "Harvey Duff," for an "aggressive wink," and for "a humbugging sort of smile," and there is record of the arrest of Margaret Moran and John Moran, evicted tenants, for "blowing their noses in a contemptuous manner." In any other country but Ireland the absurd charge would have been scouted out of court, but a trial resulted in a two months' prison sentence for the Morans. The maintenance of the Royal Irish Constabulary, with its 14,000 men, and the additional

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expense of an "army of occupation," at present numbering 150,000 soldiers, are merely items in the Irish account.

In every detail of the Irish establishment one finds royal carelessness in the English expenditure of Irish money. The Lord-Lieutenant, for instance, receives a salary of \$100,000 a year, an additional \$25,000 for his "outfit," and an allowance of \$225,000 for his "household." The Chief Secretary enjoys remuneration above that given to the President of the United States, petty judges in Ireland are paid more than the justices of our Supreme Court, and all through the list of 100,000 office-holders necessary to the government of Ireland the same lordly ideas prevail in the matter of compensation. Even in the time of Gladstone, Sir Robert Hamilton, that great English administrator, offered to reduce Irish governmental expenses by \$10,000,000 a year without loss of efficiency, an offer, needless to say, that was not accepted.

The drains that have been cited are direct, proceeding from "taxation without representation," the very cause that impelled the revolt of the American Colonies. There are others, not so obvious but just as weakening,

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among them being the sum of \$65,000,000 that goes annually to England from Ireland in the shape of rents, interest, salaries, law costs, and scores of other forms, the large portion of which would remain in Irish hands under a fairer scheme of government.

These, then, are presented as answers to the question, "Can Ireland stand alone?" They constitute an absolute affirmation. Let England repay the moneys illegally extorted by overtaxation since the Act of Union in 1800 and Ireland cannot only assume an erect posture at once, but will be able to maintain it without the aid of crutches. A round two billions is the sum. Even if this justice be withheld, there is still no ground for any fear of Irish destitution. Reductions in the cost of government, the retention of the \$135,000,000 that now goes to the English treasury, the holding in Ireland of the \$65,000,000 that now pours into English hands, and the stopping of various other drains would give the country a very satisfactory solvency at the outset. There is to be considered also the growth of industries, the development of trade relations, the use of natural resources, and the reclamation of some 5,000,000 Irish acres only waiting

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modern methods to be made profitable. It is a showing that seems to do away with the need of credit, but if credit should be found necessary, does any one doubt that an issue of Irish bonds would not find ready sale among those millions of Irish blood who have won to prosperity in the United States?

Our study of the "Irish question" may well rest with this challenge. All is not said that might be said, but fundamental facts and essential figures have been made to stand clear, and volumes would not add to the story save in detail. As to verdict there can be but one voice. At every point in the chronicle of seven centuries the contentions of Ireland are sustained by records as indisputable as tragic; there is also the testimony borne by British statesmen urgent to erase the "Irish blot"; the evidence adduced by British historians too honest to color or extenuate. English "conquest" is seen to be a thing that has ravaged and destroyed, depopulated and impoverished, decimated and exiled; English rule stands revealed as cruel and predatory, false and unscrupulous, no matter what the king or what the queen; always killing, banishing, or extirpating, enforcing ignorance, crushing

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industry, inducing famine; always filching, bleeding, squeezing, extorting, until the tax-gatherer's way is as black with the anathema of despair as in the days when Joseph and Mary cried out against the rapacities of Rome.

. Above all, more convincing than all, it is seen that England holds title in Ireland only by invasion and armed occupation, and that the Irish have never recognized conquest, never yielded the voluntary submission without which the sovereign independence of a nation does not and cannot pass. Crushed time and again by sheer weight of numbers, borne to the very edge of extermination in war after war, hunted like wild beasts from bog to glen, scourged by pestilence and famine, subjected to every known cruelty of persecution, perishing by thousands on wintry mountain-sides, dying with starved lips stained by the green of grass and nettles, the soul of Ireland has never surrendered, the heart of Ireland has never ceased to beat a battle-cry of rebellion.

Stripped of lies, prejudices, and pretense, the so-called "Irish question" shines forth as one of the world's most tremendous simplicities. Freedom is its answer and its end.

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To-day, no less than in every wretched, blood-stained day for seven long, terrible centuries, Ireland wants to be free. And when the miracle of spring has not yet thrown a mantle of green over the graves of those thousands who died but yesterday in the name of liberty; when the world, like some great shell of the sea, still echoes to the inspiring battle-cries with which England, France, and America rallied their youth to the defense of "weak peoples" and the "rights of small nations"; when the heart of humanity was never so sick of blood and injustice, what excuse can be offered, what excuse received, for continuing the chains that keep Ireland in the pit while other peoples climb from darkness to the light?

THE END

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